

University of South Wales



2060302



INVESTIGATING  
*THE LEGENDS OF THE CARRS:*  
A STUDY OF THE TALES  
AS PRINTED IN *FOLK-LORE* IN 1891

Maureen James

A submission presented in partial fulfilment of the  
requirements of the  
University of Glamorgan/Prifysgol Morgannwg  
For the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**Volume 1**

April 2013



## Abstract

This study investigates the content, collection and dissemination of the *Legends of the Carrs*, a group of tales published in *Folk-Lore* in 1891, as having been collected in North Lincolnshire from local people. The stories, have been criticised for their relatively unique content and the collector, Marie Clothilde Balfour has been accused of creating the tales.

The stories are today used by artists, writers and storytellers, wishing to evoke the flatland and beliefs of the past, yet despite the questions raised regarding authenticity, neither the collector, the context or the contents have been thoroughly investigated. The tales have also, due to their inclusion in diverse collections, moved geographically south in the popular perception.

This thesis documents the research into the historical, geographical and social context of the *Legends of the Carrs*, and also validates the folkloric content and the dialect as being from North Lincolnshire. The situation within the early Folklore Society prior to, and after the publication of the stories, has also been investigated, to reveal a widespread desire to collect stories from the rural populations, particularly if they demonstrated a latent survival of paganism.

Balfour followed the advice of the folklorists and, as well as submitting the tales in dialect, also acknowledged their pagan content within her introductions. Shortly after the publication, she became a member of the Folklore Society, and though she continued to collect stories these appeared not in *Folk-Lore* but in the popular collections of Jacobs.

The story collecting methods used in the late nineteenth century and the narrative content of the *Legends of the Carrs*, have also been explored to demonstrate clear links to the oral rather than literary traditions. These factors have been set alongside an exploration of the life of Balfour to highlight her potential motivations.

Using clues within the introductions, I believe I have managed to locate the tellers of four of the stories, and whilst the original creators of the narratives may never be known, their influences have placed these tales firmly within the Ancholme Valley, a fact that is of growing interest to the people of the Lincolnshire Carrs today.

# Table of Contents

Abstract.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	x
GENERAL INTRODUCTION .....	1
1 INTRODUCING THE LEGENDS, THE COLLECTOR AND THE FOLKLORE SOCIETY FROM ITS FOUNDATION TO THE PUBLICATION OF THE DICTIONARY OF BRITISH FOLK-TALES.....	5
1.1 INTRODUCTION.....	5
1.2 TOWARDS A DEFINITION OF THE TERM 'LEGEND'.....	8
1.3 THE LEGENDS OF THE CARRS – ARE THEY 'LEGENDS'?.....	10
1.3.1 Summary of the 'Legends'.....	10
1.3.1.1 Tiddy Mun .....	10
1.3.1.2 The Dead Moon .....	11
1.3.1.3 A Pottle o' Brains.....	12
1.3.1.4 The Green Mist .....	13
1.3.1.5 Yallery Brown.....	14
1.3.1.6 The Dead Hand .....	15
1.3.1.7 The Strangers' Share .....	16
1.3.1.8 The Flyin' Childer.....	16
1.3.1.9 Fred th' Fool.....	17
1.3.1.10 Sam'l's Ghost.....	18
1.3.2 Are the Legends correct in being defined as such?.....	18
1.4 THE INFLUENCE OF THE FOLKLORE SOCIETY TO 1891.....	20
1.4.1 The Early Antiquarians .....	20
1.4.2 The Brothers Grimm.....	21
1.4.3 The Foundation of the Folklore Society.....	22
1.4.4 The Role of the Folklore Society .....	24
1.4.5 The Popularity of Fairies and Interest in the Vikings.....	28
1.5 WHO WAS MARIE CLOTHILDE BALFOUR?.....	29
1.5.1 Early Years in New Zealand.....	30
1.5.2 Back to Edinburgh.....	32
1.5.3 Albert Henry Nicholson.....	32
1.5.4 Another Family Story .....	33
1.5.5 Adult life before and just after Marriage.....	34
1.5.6 Living and writing in France .....	36
1.5.7 Back to Edinburgh and the death of her Husband.....	36
1.5.8 The End of the Family Line.....	37
1.6 THE FOLKLORE SOCIETY AND PUBLICATION OF THE LEGENDS.....	38
1.6.1 The Folklore Society in 1891 .....	38
1.6.2 Feedback Immediately after Publication.....	38
1.6.3 Balfour's relationship with the Folklore Society in the years following publication .....	41
1.6.4 Gomme & Burne and the Handbook of Folklore.....	43
1.6.5 Jacobs, Nutt, Balfour and the Legends.....	44
1.6.6 The views of Katherine Briggs.....	46
1.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.....	48
1.8 MY RESEARCH METHODS.....	50
2 THE LEGENDS IN CONTEXT – NORTH LINCOLNSHIRE THEN AND NOW..	53

2.1 INTRODUCTION.....	53
2.2 GEOGRAPHY OF NORTH LINCOLNSHIRE .....	58
2.2.1 Geography, Geology and Land Use of North Lincolnshire.....	58
2.2.2 The village of Redbourne .....	61
2.3 ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF NORTH LINCOLNSHIRE .....	62
2.3.1 The Carrs before the Seventeenth Century.....	63
2.3.2 Seventeenth Century Drainage.....	64
2.3.3 Nineteenth Century drainage and its Effects.....	66
2.3.4 Adapting to New Methods of Farming.....	67
2.3.5 The Growth of the Gang Labour System.....	67
2.3.6 Competition, particularly from Abroad.....	69
2.3.7 Redbourne in the Nineteenth Century.....	70
2.3.8 Was Redbourne an Isolated Village?.....	73
2.4 EDUCATION AND RELIGION IN NORTH LINCOLNSHIRE .....	74
2.4.1 The Education of Children in Rural Communities.....	74
2.4.2 Education in Redbourne.....	75
2.4.3 Literacy in the General Population.....	78
2.4.4 The role of the Church in rural communities.....	80
2.4.5 Redbourne Church and Congregations.....	81
2.4.6 Redbourne Clergy.....	83
2.4.7 Paganism, Heathenism and Superstitious Belief in Lincolnshire.....	85
2.4.8 The Effect of Education and Religion on Superstitious Belief.....	87
2.5 DIET, HEALTH, DRINK AND OPIUM ADDICTION IN LINCOLNSHIRE..	88
2.5.1 The Diet and Drinking habits of the Rural Poor.....	88
2.5.2 The Effects of an Inadequate Diet.....	91
2.5.3 Medical provision in Redbourne and District.....	92
2.5.4 Opium and Relief of the Ague.....	95
2.5.5 Opium Addiction in the Lincolnshire Fens and Carrs.....	96
2.6 OPIUM, THE IMAGINATION AND BODIES IN THE BOGS.....	98
2.6.1 Opium and the Imagination.....	99
2.6.2 Bodies in the Bogs.....	100
2.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.....	101
3 THE COLLECTION OF THE LEGENDS, THE TELLERS AND THEIR NARRATIVES.....	104
3.1 INTRODUCTION.....	104
3.2 APPLYING RESEARCH TO THE COLLECTING OF THE LEGENDS.....	111
3.2.1 Towards a definition of Storytelling in the Nineteenth Century .....	111
3.2.2 How Balfour may have found her Informants.....	113
3.2.3 The Venues for Storytelling.....	114
3.2.4 Collecting the Legends.....	117
3.2.5 Tellers proving Belief (and Disbelief).....	118
3.2.6 The Methods of Recording and Transcribing the Legends.....	119
3.2.7 Evidence for how the Stories were Performed. ....	122
3.2.8 Balfour's attitude to her Informants and the Legends .....	123
3.3 DISSECTING THE NARRATIVE CONTENT OF THE LEGENDS.....	124
3.3.1 The Structure of the Legends - can they be shown to be Oral Stories?....	124
3.3.2 Locating the Personal and Place names in the Legends.....	128
3.3.3 Searching for Parallels for the Rhymes and Riddles within the Legends..	132
3.3.4 Looking for Parallels for the Stories.....	135
3.4 DISSECTING THE FOLKLORIC CONTENT OF THE LEGENDS .....	139

3.4.1 Natural or Inorganic Objects.....	140
3.4.1.1 Stones.....	140
3.4.1.2 Rivers.....	140
3.4.1.3 The Dark.....	141
3.4.1.4 The Moon.....	142
3.4.1.5 Flowers.....	142
3.4.1.6 Birds.....	143
3.4.2 Goblindom.....	144
3.4.2.1 Ghosts.....	144
3.4.2.2 Manifestations.....	144
3.4.2.3 Fairies.....	147
3.4.2.4 Hobs.....	150
3.4.3 Witchcraft and the Evil-Eye.....	150
3.4.4 Charms and Spells.....	152
3.4.5 Magic and Divination.....	156
3.4.6 Yule Customs.....	157
3.4.7 Norse Influences .....	157
3.5 ANALYSIS OF THE DIALECT WITHIN THE LEGENDS.....	159
3.5.1 English Dialect Society.....	160
3.5.2 Folklore Collectors and Dialect.....	160
3.5.3 The Problems of Committing Dialect to the Page.....	161
3.5.4 Frequency of Norse words within the Legends .....	163
3.5.5 Summary of the word analysis .....	165
3.5.6 Analysis of the last three tales.....	167
3.6 AN INVESTIGATION TO DISCOVER THE TELLERS OF SOME OF THE LEGENDS (AND TATTERCOATS).....	168
3.6.1 Tiddy Mun.....	168
3.6.2 The Dead Moon and Sam'l's Ghost.....	169
3.6.3 Yallery Brown.....	170
3.6.4 Tattercoats .....	171
3.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.....	172
4 THE RECEPTION OF THE LEGENDS SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF THE DICTIONARY OF BRITISH FOLK-TALES .....	175
4.1 INTRODUCTION.....	175
4.2 ADAPTATIONS OF THE LEGENDS IN THE LAST FOUR DECADES.....	176
4.2.1 A Short History of the Storytelling Revival in England.....	176
4.2.2 The Legends in Published Story Collections.....	178
4.2.3 Audio Versions of the Legends.....	180
4.2.4 Video Versions of the Legends .....	182
4.2.5 Live Performances of the Legends.....	183
4.2.6 Songs and Poems inspired by the Legends.....	184
4.2.7 Other Inspiration from the Legends.....	185
4.3 EXPLORING (AND ADDRESSING) THE VIEWS OF MODERN FOLKLORISTS, STORYTELLERS AND OTHERS.....	186
4.3.1 Critics of the Legends and the Authenticity of the Tales.....	186
4.3.2 Impartial Views of the Legends.....	189
4.3.3 Acceptance of the Legends as Authentic .....	190
4.3.4 A similar case? Jack Zipes and Laura Gonzenach.....	194
4.3.5 The tales of Franz Xaver Von Schönwerth.....	194
4.4 CHAPTER SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.....	195



5 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	197
6 BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	206
6.1 Books.....	206
6.2 Archives Consulted.....	240
6.3 Audio Resources.....	241
6.4 Periodicals Searched .....	242
6.5 Interviews Conducted.....	242
6.6 Digital Resources.....	244

## **Illustration Index**

Illustration 1: Geological Map of Lincolnshire.....	61
Illustration 2: The Rivers of Lincolnshire.....	65
Illustration 3: The Window in Redbourne Church.....	83

## **Index of Tables**

Comparison of Performance Strategies found in the Legends.....	128
Personal names found in the Legends.....	130
Place-names found in the Legends.....	131
Analysis of belief compared to the Legends.....	159
A selection of Balfour's errors in spelling or recording.....	163
Frequency of a selection of Norse words within the Legends.....	165
Frequency of dialect and Norse words within the Legends.....	166

## Appendix Table of Contents

APPENDIX 1: THE DEAD MOON AND THE GREEN MIST ANNOTATED.....	254
i.The Dead Moon .....	254
ii.The Green Mist .....	262
APPENDIX 2: GLOSSARY OF LINCOLNSHIRE WORDS .....	267
i.A-C.....	267
ii.D-F.....	270
iii.G-I.....	272
iv.J-L.....	274
v.M-O.....	274
vi.P-S.....	276
vii.T-V.....	278
viii.W-Z.....	279
ix.SCOTTISH WORDS IN THE LEGENDS .....	280
APPENDIX 3: THOMAS IN REDBOURNE.....	281
APPENDIX 4: MOON RHYMES AND SCHOOL SONGS.....	283
i.Hullah.....	283
ii.Hutchison.....	283
iii.The Fairies (A child's song).....	283
iv.Gilbert & Sullivan.....	284
v.Moonlight, Starlight.....	285
vi.The Witch.....	285
APPENDIX 5: MARIE CLOTHILDE BALFOUR – BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	287
APPENDIX 6: THE FALL OF THE SPARROW.....	292
APPENDIX 7: THE LEGENDS IN PUBLISHED STORY COLLECTIONS.....	295
APPENDIX 8: THE MOTIFS WITHIN THE LEGENDS.....	296
i.TIDDY MUN.....	296
ii.THE DEAD MOON.....	296
iii.POTTLE O' BRAINS.....	296
iv.THE GREEN MIST.....	297
v.YALLERY BROWN.....	297
vi.THE DEAD HAND.....	297
vii.STRANGERS' SHARE.....	297
viii.FLYIN' CHILDER.....	298
ix.SAM'LS GHOST.....	298
APPENDIX 9: LABOV'S ANALYSIS.....	299
i.TIDDY MUN.....	299
ii.THE DEAD MOON.....	299
iii.POTTLE O' BRAINS.....	299
iv.THE GREEN MIST .....	300
v.YALLERY BROWN.....	300
vi.THE DEAD HAND.....	300
vii.THE STRANGERS' SHARE.....	301
viii.THE FLYIN' CHILDER (using rough notes).....	301
ix.FRED THE FOOL (using rough notes).....	302
x.SAM'L'S GHOST (using rough notes).....	302
APPENDIX 10: PERFORMANCE STRATEGIES ANALYSIS.....	303
i.TIDDY MUN.....	303
ii.THE DEAD MOON.....	304

iii.POTTLE O' BRAINS.....	304
iv.THE GREEN MIST .....	305
v.YALLERY BROWN.....	306
vi.THE DEAD HAND.....	307
vii.THE STRANGERS' SHARE.....	308
viii.THE FLYIN' CHILDER (using rough notes and actual text).....	309
ix.FRED THE FOOL (using rough notes and actual text).....	309
x.SAM'L'S GHOST (using rough notes and actual text).....	310
APPENDIX 11: PARALLELS TO THE DEAD MOON FROM OUTSIDE EUROPE. .....	311
APPENDIX 12: COMPARING BALFOUR'S NOTES AND PART III.....	312
i.THE FLYIN' CHILDER. ....	312
ii.FRED TH' FOOL. ....	315
iii.SAM'L'S GHOST.....	318
APPENDIX 13: THE DEAD MOON & THE BURIED MOON COMPARED.....	321
APPENDIX 14: 'TH' JACKDAW I' PEACOCK'S FEATHERS' .....	327
APPENDIX 15: TENNYSON'S NORTHERN FARMER – New Style (1869).....	328
APPENDIX 16: CLOSE ANALYSIS OF THE DIALECT IN TIDDY MUN.....	329
APPENDIX 17: ANALYSIS OF USE OF KEY WORDS IN THE LEGENDS.....	334
i.Use of the term 'thee'.....	334
ii.Use of the term 'tha'.....	334
iii.Use of conjunctions/boundary markers found in the oral tradition .....	337
iv.frequency of a sample of dialect nouns, adverbs and adjectives in the Legends..	337
APPENDIX 18: ANALYSIS OF WORD FREQUENCY USING ANTCONC .....	338
APPENDIX 19: MY OWN SELF - COMPARISON.....	340
i.The story as it appeared in Jacobs (1894, pp.16-19): .....	340
ii.The shortened version of the story as found in Richardson (1846, pp.48-49): ....	341
iii.Jacobs notes to the tale (1894, pp.221–222): .....	342

## Acknowledgements

On the journey towards the completion of the writing of this thesis I have had help and encouragement from a large number of people, but before I acknowledge these I would like to thank those who made it all possible: Kevin Crossley-Holland for including *The Legends of the Cars* in his collections; Jeremy Harte for putting his negative comments on Marie Clothilde Balfour into print; Darwin Horn for submitting his own research to Folklore and Janet Dowling for persuading me that my thesis should be on a subject I was passionate about...

I would then like to acknowledge the valuable advice given to me by Mike Wilson, my first Director of Studies, and also Hamish Fyfe and Patrick Ryan, who helped me to keep on track after Mike had moved on to University College, Falmouth. I am also indebted to John Widdowson for his positive feedback during the transfer process; Del Reid for his immense knowledge of world stories; Maureen Sutton for her knowledge and enthusiasm for Lincolnshire folklore, Loretta Rivett for help with the dialect; Tim Davies for ideas and encouragement and Anne-Marie Taylor for her knowledge of Redbourne.

I am also grateful for positive support from many storytellers, writers, folklorists and historians particularly Helen Frances, Malcolm Busby, Hugh Lupton, Polly Howat, Simon Heywood, Mike O'Leary, Ben Haggarty, Nick Hennessey, Alan Woollard, Graham Langley, Ruairidh Greig, Rex Russell, Lynne Langley, Beka Haigh, Rosie Eade and Mike Scott. Beyond this there are numerous archivists and librarians, of which I would like to specifically thank Caroline Oates of the Folklore Society; Jacky Hodgson at the Special Collections, University of Sheffield; Kasia Drozdziak at Brotherton Library, Leeds University; John Wilson and Philip Melladay at North East Lincolnshire Council and Dave Taylor at North Lincolnshire Museum.

On a practical level, I am grateful for the support of Helen Nichols in New Zealand (who also, indirectly helped me to find the AntConc programme), Heather Falvey and Fiona Collins, the latter who gave up her time to read and comment on this thesis.

Last but not least, I wish to thank my husband Stuart and my family, for their patience and understanding, and awareness that there is “daylight at the end of the tunnel” even if quite a lot of Green & Blacks have to be consumed in the process!

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

“Stunted willows mark the dyke-sides, and in winter there are wide stretches of black glistening peat-lands and damp pastures; here and there great black snags work their way up from submerged forests below. When the mists rise at dusk in shifting wreaths, and the bleak wind from the North Sea moans and whistles across the valley, it is not difficult to people the Cars<sup>1</sup> once more with all the uncanny dwellers, whose memory is preserved in the old stories”(Balfour 1891, pp.146-147).

The *Legends of the Cars*<sup>2</sup> are a collection of ten stories that were submitted by Marie Clothilde Balfour for publication in *Folk-Lore*<sup>3</sup> in 1891. The stories, which also included a lengthy introduction stating that they were collected in the Lincolnshire Carrs, were written in an inconsistent, phonetic dialect. The tales also included glimpses of pagan customs which Balfour believed had “existed in these parts since the very dawn of history”(1891, p.148) The collection of evidence of such beliefs, though not usually in the form of stories, was common at the time, and consequently attracted little attention from contemporary, and later, Lincolnshire folklorists.

Aside from a brief note on the credibility of *Yallery Brown*, included by Jacobs, in the notes to his *More English Fairy Tales* (1894), and a paper presented to the Folklore Society in 1955, which quoted extensively from the *Legends* no doubts about the authenticity of the stories were publicly acknowledged until the early 1970s when Katharine Briggs included the *Legends* in her *Dictionary of British Folk Tales* (1969) and in her later, *A Dictionary of Fairies* (1976). In the notes to the *Dead Moon*, in the latter book, she cryptically wrote that “This is one of a group of stories so unusual that some folklorists have doubted their genuineness” (1976, p.91).

Since this time uncertainties have also been expressed in print by Neil Philip (1992) and Jeremy Harte (2005) but despite these criticisms, reputable compilers of story collections have included the *Legends* in their anthologies; writers for children have produced books based on the stories; storytellers involved in the revival movement have continued to tell the *Legends* within performances; and artists have used the *Legends* as inspiration for many projects.

Within this thesis, I shall seek to challenge the critics of the origins of the *Legends* and

---

<sup>1</sup> Cars was the spelling used in the nineteenth century, now altered to Carrs. I will use the latter spelling throughout this thesis.

<sup>2</sup> Throughout the remainder of this thesis I will shorten the title of the Balfour stories to read *Legends*.

<sup>3</sup> *Folk-Lore* was the journal of the Folklore Society. It is now called *Folklore*.

attempt to place them within the Lincolnshire Carrs. It is noticeable that, until recently, the *Legends*, were relatively unknown within North Lincolnshire, but due to my own work, the efforts of Mike Pearson of Aberystwyth University<sup>4</sup>, and others, awareness of their existence and recognition of the relevance of their content and dialect has increased within the area, and they are now told during local story walks.

As Wendy Doniger noted, it is vital to know and understand the context, culture and language of a story in order to compare it to others (Doniger, 1998, p. 65). To date no researcher has carried out a full investigation into the background of the story collector, to look for the influences on her life prior to her living in North Lincolnshire and for any potential motives behind her submission of the *Legends* to *Folk-Lore*. Balfour did write short stories and novels for publication but these have not been compared to the content and style of writing within the *Legends*, in order to rule out the possibility of Balfour having composed them.

Alongside this, no researcher has sought to locate the village, in which Balfour was living in the years prior to the publication of the *Legends*, to see if there were any potential tellers<sup>5</sup>. The use of the dialect has also not been closely analysed, and no previous scholar has noted that, though it was poorly transcribed, it fits with the patterns of speech of the few surviving dialect speakers in North Lincolnshire, and can be recognised by those who have heard such speakers.

I aim to do each of the above and also to seek answers to a number of questions based on the contents of the *Legends* including: Was the experience of drainage the inspiration for the account in *Tiddy Mun*? Were the bogs dangerous places at night, into which the people feared to walk unless they carried keep-safes, as in *The Dead Hand*? Did the people look eagerly for the moon, as recounted in *The Dead Moon*? Did the people believe not just in Christianity, but also keep up an older faith that required them to continue old rituals, as recounted in a number of the *Legends* including *The Green Mist* and *The Strangers' Share*? Was there a wariness held by people towards the fairy places, and a belief in the appearance of 'little people' like *Tiddy Mun* or *Yallery Brown*?

To enable these questions to be answered, this thesis will also examine the living standards of the people in nineteenth century North Lincolnshire; the prevalence of

<sup>4</sup> Pearson included some of the content in his *Carrlands* audio performance project

<sup>5</sup> Westwood and Simpson in *The Lore of the Land* include the *Legends* under the section The Ancholme Valley and have marked the location on the map roughly at the source of the river in Spridlington. Their entry for Redbourne concerns Dick Turpin (2005, p. 438,450).

pagan beliefs and the influences of the church, as well as the provision and influence of State education within the county, and Redbourne<sup>6</sup>. Alongside this I will explore the influence that regular and excessive consumption of opium<sup>7</sup> may have had on the imagination of the people of the Carrs, as this was a key feature of mid nineteenth century life in rural Lincolnshire. This will be combined with the fear of the undrained areas at night, and the folk knowledge of the finding of bog-bodies, within the region in the past. Again these are areas of research that have been neglected with regards to the *Legends*.

It has been noted by scholars of folktales that there is an apparent lack of similar stories from other flatland areas, and so searches will be undertaken to look for parallels that may not have come to the attention of the folktale collectors. This research will be supported by comparisons with the recorded folklore of the county which will seek to show that the motifs within the *Legends* are not unique.

To provide a further piece of evidence for this thesis, I shall also examine the place of the *Legends* within the arts, particularly the modern storytelling revival. This will show some of the ways that the stories have been adapted including published story collections, books for children, audio and video adaptations, live performances, songs and poems, plus some of the ways the *Legends* have inspired other literary creations. This will be followed by an examination of the thoughts and feelings of contemporary storytellers, folklorists and others with an interest in the *Legends* particularly from North Lincolnshire and the Fenlands on the content of the collection.

The reading for this thesis has been extensive and has covered multiple disciplines. With regards to the investigations into the historical context of the stories within North Lincolnshire, this has included history, geography, social and economic factors, ecology, religion, education, health, diet and dialect. Concerning the folkloric context of the *Legends* and the introduction to them, folklore and folkloristics, popular antiquities and anthropology were each explored. For research into the background of Balfour, her novels and short stories have been examined, and searches have been made of official archives, alongside internet searches of genealogical databases.

This thesis is divided into four chapters, conclusion and appendices, and is structured

---

<sup>6</sup> The village where most of the *Legends* appear to have been collected.

<sup>7</sup> To ease the effects of malaria, opium was used widely in the Carrs and other flatland areas and became a major social problem in the later nineteenth century.

as follows:

**Chapter 1 – Introducing the *Legends*, the Collector and the Folklore Society from its foundation to the publication of the *Dictionary of British Folk-Tales*,** contains an attempt to define the term 'legend', a summary of each of the *Legends* and a comparison with the definition, an exploration of the influences of the Folklore Society, an account of the life of Balfour and an examination of the reception of the *Legends* in the years following the publication. The chapter will end with an explanation of **my interest in the subject and my research methods.**

**Chapter 2 – The *Legends* in Context: Lincolnshire, then and now,** looks at the geographical, historical and social context in which the *Legends* were collected. This is followed by an examination of the provision of education and the place of religion within the county. This chapter ends with an exploration of the diet, health and opium use, and the effect of the latter, along with bodies in the bogs, on the imagination.

**Chapter 3 – The Collection of the *Legends*, the tellers and their narratives,** introduces and seeks to define oral storytelling and then compare academic research to Balfour's methods of collecting the stories, dissects the narratives to look for parallels elsewhere, and for their folkloric content, analyses the dialect within the *Legends* and also seeks to discover the tellers of these stories.

**Chapter 4 – The Reception of the *Legends* since the publication of *The Dictionary of British Folk-Tales*,** will introduce the storytelling revival movement and will also consider the adaptations of the *Legends* in the past four decades and explore the views of modern folklorists, storytellers and others.



# **1 INTRODUCING THE LEGENDS, THE COLLECTOR AND THE FOLKLORE SOCIETY FROM ITS FOUNDATION TO THE PUBLICATION OF THE DICTIONARY OF BRITISH FOLK-TALES**

## **1.1 INTRODUCTION**

Within this chapter, I will first look for a definition of the term 'Legend' (in section 1.2) to provide a base for seeing if it fits with the types of story collected by Balfour. I will then, in 1.3, summarise the *Legends* (1.3.1) and compare their content to the definition (1.3.2). For this research I have used a variety of folkloristic sources from the earliest of collectors, namely the Brothers Grimm; early members of the Folklore Society - G. L. Gomme (1890 & 1908) and James Frazer (1921) plus Bronislaw Malinowski (1926); the era of great debate in the field of taxonomy, William Bascom (1965), Herbert Halpert (1969), Robert Georges (1969a); and finally the more recent scholars, Lauri Honko (1984), Bengt Holbek (1987), Gillian Bennett (1989), Dan Ben-Amos (1992) and Ulf Palmenfelt (1993).

In section 1.4, I will examine the influence of the Folklore Society, commencing with a brief exploration of the work of the early antiquarians (1.4.1). This will be followed in (1.4.2) by an account of the methods used by the Brothers Grimm and the part they played in influencing the collectors of popular antiquities, as the folklorists were then known (Boyes, 1993, p. 8). An exploration of the foundation of the Folklore Society (1.4.3) and an outline of the work carried out by some of its Council Members (1.4.4), namely Edward Tylor, George Gomme, Andrew Lang, Joseph Jacobs, Alfred Nutt, James Frazer and Wilhelm Mannhardt. The section will be end (1.4.5) with a brief look at the popularity of fairies and the interest in Vikings including the influence of Sir Walter Scott and Sir George Dasent.

The sources used for this research include some of the above, along with Richard Bauman & Charles Briggs (1992), Richard Dorson (1968a), John Golby & William Purdue (1999) and Georges Zimmerman (2001) for the general overview of the situation regarding the motives of the antiquarian scholars; Bauman & Briggs to explore the work of the Brothers Grimm, alongside Christa Kamenetsky (1992), Linda Dégh (1991), Holbek (1987), Donald Ward (1991) and Alan Dundes (1990). For the exploration of the early folklorists, I have consulted many of Dorson's publications

(1968 -1981) along with Dundes (1980), Stith Thompson (1977), Sona Burstein (1957) and Gillian Bennett (1994 & 1996), with the addition of Eric Montenyohl (1987 & 1988) for Lang, Juliette Wood (1999) for Nutt, Carole Silver (2004) and Neil Philip (2003) for Jacobs, Ashman & Bennett (2000) for Burne, Abram Kardiner & Edward Preble (1962) for Frazer, Dundes (2001) for Mannhardt. I have also drawn on the work of scholars who have researched the collection of social history and folk customs, namely Alexandra Walsham (2008), Boyes (1978 & 1993), Elizabeth Fine (1984), John Storey (2003) and Mark Freeman (2001-2005). Some of the publications by members of the Council were also consulted including Tylor (1871) Gomme (1880 – 1890), Nutt (1884), Lang (1885), Hartland (1891), Frazer (1921 & 1922), Addy (1902 & 1907) and Jacobs (1893) as well as the Annual Reports of the Folklore Society and the work of Max Müller (1882). For the research on the interest in fairies and Vikings, Nicola Bown (2001), Jason Harris (2008), Terry Gunnell (2010), Wawn (2000 & 1990), Diane Purkiss (2000) and J. A B. Townsend (1990) proved useful.

The content of section 1.5 will contain a brief biography of Balfour which seeks to highlight the influences upon her life. This will provide evidence for considering the question of whether or not Balfour created the *Legends*. Research for this section has mainly been carried out using primary and family history sources. For the former, archives in some of the places where Balfour is known to have lived were consulted in Lincolnshire, Edinburgh, Bath, London and New Zealand. Online sources were also investigated including newspapers. For the latter, extensive use was made of the websites [ancestry.com](http://ancestry.com), [findmypast.co.uk](http://findmypast.co.uk) and [scotlandspeople.gov.uk](http://scotlandspeople.gov.uk). A particularly useful source was the family biography *The Balfours of Pilrig* (Balfour-Melville, 1907), which can now be downloaded from the web, though I consulted the hard copy. Attempts were also made to find out about Balfour's life by consulting the many Robert Louis Stevenson archives and books including Margaret Black (1898) and Bradford Booth & Ernest Mehew (1994), but these efforts provided minimal information, and it can consequently be assumed that Balfour's relationship with her cousin was not sufficiently close for material to be collected. For background material on New Zealand, the most useful sources were found to be Booth (1912), Brian Dalton (1967, 1965), James Belich (1986) and Helen Beaglehole (2006) alongside articles by Tom Brooking (1985) and David Finkelstein (2003)

Section 1.6 will explore the actions and reactions of the Folklore Society and its

members with regards to the publication of the *Legends*, and the interactions between Balfour and the Society. This will commence with an account of the Officers of the Society in 1891 (1.6.1) and the feedback from the membership, particularly those in Lincolnshire, to the content of the *Legends* (1.6.2), using sources noted above. Balfour's relationship with the Folklore Society will then be explored (1.6.3) along with an account of the work of Gomme and Burne and their *Handbook of Folklore* (1.6.4) and (1.6.5) the comments made by Jacobs (1894) when including stories, submitted by Balfour, to his collections. This will be followed (1.6.6) by an examination of the comments made by Katharine Briggs within her *Dictionary of Fairies* (1976) alongside entries connected to the *Legends*. The aim is to establish the background for the later accusations that the *Legends* were composed by Balfour and to explore the reasons why Balfour only submitted one set of stories to the Folklore Society though she collected more.

Sources used within this section, not mentioned above, include the archives and correspondence of the Folklore Society, particularly John. S. Stuart-Glennie (1892); the social commentary of Augustus Jessopp (1887); *The Academy: A Weekly Review of Literature, Science and Art*, (June 1891); various Lincolnshire archives particularly those of the Peacocks in the North Lincolnshire Museum and other archive materials at Lincoln. *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries* were also consulted as were other publications relating to the county including those by E Peacock (1877), M Peacock (1891 & 1901), Ethel Rudkin (1933 – 1954), plus Rudkin's obituary by Theo Brown 1986), and Eileen Elder (1989 – 1997), as well as the clergyman folklorists, Walter Heanley (1891 – 1903), John C. Atkinson (1891), James Conway Walter (1891) and James Penny (1915 & 1922). The latter two were described by James Obelkevich as trustworthy in their approach, and with “intimate local knowledge” of their respective areas (1976, p. 334). For an examination of the views of Briggs, Hilda Ellis Davidson (1996) will be consulted.

The chapter will end with section 1.8 which seeks to explain my interest in the subject and give an outline of my multi-disciplinary approach to investigating the *Legends*.

## **1.2 TOWARDS A DEFINITION OF THE TERM 'LEGEND'**

“By legends I understand traditions, whether oral or written, which relate the fortunes of real people in the past, or which describe events, not necessarily human, that are said to have occurred at real places. Such legends contain a mixture of truth and falsehood, for were they wholly true; they would not be legends but histories. The proportion of truth and falsehood naturally varies in different legends; generally, perhaps, falsehood predominates, at least in details, and the element of the marvellous or the miraculous often, though not always, enters largely into them” (Frazer, 1921, p. xxix).

So wrote the eminent folklorist, Sir James Frazer in 1921. He was following the example of the Grimm Brothers who, according to research by Jason, Dundes, Bauman and others defined a legend as “a story that is believed and that is told about a definite (real or fabulous) person, event or place” (Jason 1971, p. 134). The Grimm’s also qualified the main factors within the definition:

1. The legend fits within the narrator’s concept of historical time: a) the legend is connected with a definite historical (real or fabulous) event, b) the legend is connected with a definite person, that is, a named historical (real or fabulous) figure;
2. The legend fits the narrator’s concept of geographical space, that is “believed” by its bearers, and it is regarded as pertaining to the real world of the narrator and his audience (the fairy tale, to the contrary, is not believed by the narrating community, although it too deals with supernatural events).

Another pre-Frazerian definition is by Gomme (1908, p. 129) who noted that the terms myth, folk-tale and legend, had begun to be used indiscriminately, and stated that “legend belongs to an historical personage, locality or event.” Gomme (1890, pp. 150-152) had explored place legends and traditions in an earlier publication but had not put forward his definition.

In 1926 the anthropologist Malinowski (1926, pp. 20-30) noted three forms of narrative – fairy tales, legends and myths. Legends, he found were “believed to be true and to contain important factual information...are not privately owned, told in a stereotyped way, or magical in their effect”. He also noted that the legends were not told for amusement.

Bascom (1965, p. 9) similarly defined legends as “prose narratives which, like myths

are regarded as true by the narrator and his audience, but they are set in a period considerably less remote, when the world was much as it is today". He added that the principal characters are human, legends are more often secular than sacred and that they are often "the counterpart in verbal tradition of written history, but they also include local tales of buried treasure, ghosts, fairies and saints" (1965, p. 10).

The work of Bascom also encompassed investigating the definitions from other cultures and he found that "careful analysis of a legend...usually shows a minute amount of truth mixed with many half-truths and many more pure inventions" (1965, p. 15). Halpert (1969, p. 47) refined the definition of a legend, as being "a story told as the truth and believed to be true".

Georges (1969a, p. 3) however, noted that there are many different conceptions of legend and that to try to get folklorists to reach some consensus would be doing the field of study a disservice. He believed that

A legend is a story or narrative, that may not be a story or narrative at all; it is set in a recent or historical past that may be conceived to be remote or anti-historical or not really past at all; it is believed to be true by some, false by others, and both or neither by most (1969a, p. 5).

Recently Holbek (1987, p. 98) has put forward his own perception that "Legends debate the relation between our daily reality and some kind of possibly real 'otherworld'" He also noted that "the telling of a legend may be followed by a discussion and assessment of its content" whereas fictitious tales "create their own universe which is not subject to debate in the same way."

Palmenfelt (1993, p. 144) in his research, found that legends were viewed as if they were stories, and they were seen as "realistic miniatures of nineteenth century...life" (1993, p. 150). He noted how they were like a still photograph representing "living peoples' meetings, feelings, joys, fears and sorrows," and observed that:

A legend lifted out of this continuous, dynamic, dialectic process, for instance by a collector writing it down and filing it in an archive, will be like a still photograph. But any scholar who remembers that legend texts are representations of real living peoples' meetings, feelings, joys, fears, and sorrows will be able to squeeze a lot of understanding out of such a photo collection (Palmenfelt, 1993, p. 166)

Ben-Amos (1992, p. 102), whilst expressing his own views on the definitions of tale types, stated that "Myth (from Greek mythos) is believed to be true, legend (from Latin

legenda) purports to be true, and folktale is inherently untrue...” He found that legends concern personalities, dates or places, that can be identified, but involved with events that “have an extraordinary quality, often involving interaction between humans and supernatural beings or forces...”

Honko (1984, p. 12) argued that memorates<sup>1</sup> could develop over time into legends and suggested that they also be called belief legends. This request was echoed by Bennett (1989a, p. 290) who saw that such stories contain much authenticating details and evaluating comments with the local places known to the tellers. She argued that “a story which shows all the processes of legend, has the moral and philosophical value of legend, and shares its function and its performative features, must *be* a legend, however unfamiliar its text” (p. 304).

### **1.3 THE LEGENDS OF THE CARRS – ARE THEY 'LEGENDS'?**

As stated in the Introduction to this thesis, the *Legends* are a collection of ten stories that were submitted by Balfour for publication in *Folk-Lore* in 1891. To save space, rather than reproducing the actual *Legends*, in their phonetic dialect, or translations of them, I have chosen to briefly summarise the contents with the addition of information on the tellers as related by Balfour. Definitions of terms used can be found within the Glossary (Appendix 2).

#### **1.3.1 Summary of the 'Legends'**

Part I, *Folk-Lore*, Volume 11, No. 2

##### **1.3.1.1 Tiddy Mun**

Told by an old woman, a life-long dweller of the Carrs who used to carry out the ritual herself though she would “not confess to it within the hearing of her grand-children, whose indifference and disbelief shocked her greatly”(1891, p.149).

Out on the Carrs, there were boggarts, will o' tha wykes, todlowries dancing on tussocks, and witches riding on black snags that turned to snakes. People carried charms for protection from these evil creatures. The people also suffered with ague<sup>2</sup> at the time

---

<sup>1</sup> Memorates were defined by Carl Von Sydow as “purely personal” stories (Bennett, 1999, p. 4).

<sup>2</sup> Ague (or marsh fever) is a form of malaria, once common in the Carrs and Fens (Elder 1997, p. 45). It is explored further within the footnotes to section 2.1.

and would shake and sup gin or eat opium to ease the effects. They knew that the ague came from the marshes and that the wetlands were soon to be drained. They objected to the work because “bad's bad, but meddling's worse” and would not give 'the Dutchies' bed or board. The people talked of Tiddy Mun who lived in the water holes, and would come out in the evening. He had a white beard, grey clothes, and was no bigger than a three year old child. “Tiddy Mun wi-out a name, white head, walkin' lame; while the watter teems the fen, Tiddy Mun'll harm none,” they said to describe the creature, who also walked limpelty-lobelty, and appeared at the sound of the pyewipe screech. When the water came up to the door-sills the people would go out at the time of the first New Moon and call out to Tiddy Mun for help “Tiddy Mun, wi'out a name, tha watters thruff.” By morning the water would be down. During the drainage work, 'Dutchies' would disappear but they would be replaced. Eventually, when the work was done, everything was 'arsy-varsy.' The cows pined; the pigs starved; the ponies became lame; the babies got sick; the lambs died and the milk curdled. The thatch on the houses also fell in and the walls burst out. The people realised they needed to call for the help of Tiddy Mun and went out at the next new moon. They found that the boggarts and the Jack o' Lanterns had gone with the drainage. They each brought a cup of fresh water to the dyke edge looking over the new river and called out “Tiddy Mun, wi'out a name, Here's watter for thee, take the spell undone!” They poured the water out and then they heard wailing and whimpering around them, and the mothers heard and felt their dead children. Then all went still and quiet, and they went home, and things got better. But every New Moon they went out again to the nearest dyke-edge and poured water into the dykes. Tiddy Mun has gone now.

#### **1.3.1.2 The Dead Moon**

Told by a nine-year old 'crippled' girl (Fanny) who said she had heard it from her 'gran.' Balfour acknowledged that she first heard of this in a sort of nursery-rhyme some children were singing (p. 149). This story was also sent by Balfour to Jacobs for inclusion in his *More English Fairy Tales*. The girl said at the end of the tale that her 'gran' had seen the place where the moon had been trapped.

When the moon was dark, witches rode on great black cats, the evil eye glowered from dark corners, will o' tha wykes danced about and 'dead folk' rose from the water. The moon came down to the Carrs to investigate the horrors that came out when she

didn't shine. Her foot slipped and she stumbled. She heard a man who was lost, pitifully calling for help. The horrors took on other shapes including ramping lasses offering a helping hand, which when grabbed turned into worms. A snag grabbed hold of the moon and pulled her down. She managed to reveal her light long enough to help the man to find the path, before she lay down exhausted. The witches cursed the moon for spoiling their spells, the dead for keeping them in their coffins at night and the bogles for keeping them in the corners. They all wanted to punish her, but the sun was rising so they decided to keep her trapped. The bogles found a big stone to roll on top of her, and the will-o-the-wykes were told to guard her by sitting on the cross shaped snag. The time of the new moon arrived and the people put pennies in their pockets and straws in their caps but no moon appeared. The evil things bothered them more than ever – boggarts wailing round their houses, looking in their windows and screeching fit to wake the dead. So the carr-folk had to sit trembling by their fires and could not sleep nor put foot outside. They went to see the wise-woman who looked in the brew-pot, mirror and the book, but could not help. She suggested putting a pinch of salt, a straw and a button on the door-sill at night so the horrors can't get cross. The people went home and to the Inn and talked about what had happened and one day a man from the far end of the bog-lands was listening and said he might know where the moon was. He went, with the people, to the wise-woman who this time said to "go before night gathers, put a stone in your gobs, take a hazel twig in your hands and say not a word. Look for a coffin, a candle and a cross." The people did as they were told and found the hiding place. They said the Lords' Prayer, forwards and backwards to themselves and then lifted the stone to release the moon. After this the moon shone brighter over the Carrs than anywhere else.

### **1.3.1.3 A Pottle o' Brains**

Balfour described this as a 'droll' told by the same person as *Coat o' Clay* a story collected in Lincolnshire by Balfour which was sent to Lang to be included in *Longman's Magazine* and *Folk-Lore* in 1890.<sup>3</sup>

There was once a fool who wanted to buy a pottle of brains, as he was always getting into scrapes because of his foolishness, and was laughed at by everyone. He heard that the old wise-woman at the top of the hill might be able to help and he asked his mother

---

<sup>3</sup> Both *Coat o' Clay* and *A Pottle o' Brains* were included in *More English Fairy Tales* (1894) by Jacobs.



if he should see her. His mother agreed that it would be a good idea and added that he would need brains if she died, so that he could look after himself. After tea he went to see the wise-woman who told him to bring “the heart of the thing thou likes best of all”. When he got home he killed the pig as he liked fat bacon best of all. She gave him the riddle “What runs without feet?” to answer and when he failed to solve it told him he had not brought the right thing. He went home to find that his mother was dying. He realised he loved her most of all and carried her dead body over his shoulder to the wise-woman's cottage. She asked him “What's yellow and shiny, but isn't gold?” and again he couldn't answer. He went home upset and a local lass saw him and asked what was the matter. He told her he had no one to look after him and she offered to help. They went off to get married and they were happy together. One day he remembered the wise-woman and told his wife about his visits and the riddles. His wife agreed to go with him to try to get his pottle of brains and when he was asked the two riddles she whispered the answers ('water' and 'the sun') in his ear. The fool was then asked “what is it that first has no legs, and then two legs, and ends with four legs?” His wife whispered “a tadpole” and he told the wise-woman the answer. The wise-woman then said that he had got his brains already...they were in his wife's head!

## Part II, *Folk-Lore*, Volume 11, No. 3

This second set of tales were told to Balfour by ‘men who had not a strong and instinctive sense of the dramatic art of story-making’. She noted that “in spite of their receptiveness towards things marvellous,” the men were “practical and somewhat unimaginative” and added that they “accepted the tales they had heard from their fathers, with respect, but...not...absolute belief”(1891, p.258).

### **1.3.1.4 The Green Mist**

The story was told to the man by his father's grandfather when he was a 'tidy brat' many years ago. His grandfather said the story was “all true as death”.

People in the old days gave things to the bogles and such, to keep them friendly. At night they would carry a light round the houses, saying words to keep them off. They would smear blood on the door sill, and bread and salt on the flat stones by the lane, to get a good harvest. They would also spill water in the four corners of the field if they wanted rain, and pour wine on door sill at cock crow to bring good luck to the New

Year. They believed that the earth slept over the winter when the bogles would get up to mischief. In the Spring the people would lift a spade of earth from the mools, and say strange words to wake the earth. They would also stand on the doorstep, to watch the Green Mist rise on the fields, with offerings of bread and salt. One hundred and thirty years ago there was a family with a girl who had been a ramping young maid, but she had grown white and waffling like a bag of bones, till she could not stand up. She said aloud to her mother that she wished to “wake the spring with thee again, maybe the Green Mist would make me strong and well”. The Green Mist did not arrive and she grew weaker and said “If the Green Mist don't come in the morning I can't wait any longer...if I could only...live as long as one of them cowslips as come every year by the gate and die with the first of them when the summers in.” Her mother told her to be quiet as the bogles were always nearby and listening. Dawn of the next day brought the Green Mist and the girl was carried to the door-sill, and crumbled the bread and salt on the earth and said the strange words. She then grew strong, and by the time the cowslips were budding she was running about, laughing. Every morning she would water and tend the cowslips, and dance to them in the sunshine. One day a boy came to her gate and whilst they talked, he picked a cowslip and gave it to her. She said not a word but ran into the house, and by morning she was a wrinkled, white sunken dead thing.

#### **1.3.1.5 Yallery Brown**

Told in first person by a local man – who we know from the story as being called Tom. He recalled the time when he was sixteen, or eighteen and worked at High Farm. This story was also included in Jacobs (1894) and the narrator was given the name Tom Tiver and his place of work, Hall Farm.

Tom found his work was hard. His pay was good but he couldn't abide work. Every Sunday evening, when he had to walk back to work, he liked to take the path across the field by the spinney and the fox covert. The spinney was said to be haunted and it had lots of fairy stones and rings, along the grass edge. It was a beautiful July night, with lots of little sounds, grass chattering, and soft wind when he heard heart-breaking sound of sobbing like a baby. He couldn't locate the sound, but it grew louder and he realised that it was coming from under a great big stone by the hedge – a Strangers Stone on which “the good folk danced on moonlit nights.” He lifted the stone and saw a tiddy thing lying on his back blinking up at the moon. It was no bigger than a year old brat,

with brown skin, long yellow clotted hair and beard twisted round his body and a face that looked hundreds of years old. The creature said “Tom thou's a good lad” and offered to help him by giving him a wife “the liveliest lass in town” or “as much gold as one can carry” but Tom just asked for help with his work. The creature who gave his name as “Yallery Brown” told Tom never to thank him. The next morning when he got up for work, Tom found everything done, and he just sat down with hands in his pocket. He would see Yallery Brown in the evenings hopping about. By and by everything began to go ‘arsy-varsy’ and the work of the others began to be undone. Tom tried to do his own work but the tools ran away from him. The others told the master and he was sacked. Tom went to look for the boggart, and as soon as he called him he appeared. Tom said to him “I’ll thank thee to leave me alone.” The boggart reminded him that he should not have thanked him, and said he would leave him alone, but he called him a fool and gave him fools luck for the rest of his life. “Work as thou will, thou’ll never do well, work as thou might, thou’ll never gain ought, for harm an’ mischance and Yallery Brown, thou let out thyself fro’ under the stone.” Tom had bad luck ever since.

#### **1.3.1.6 The Dead Hand**

Within this tale we learn little about the teller, or his father, other than that they had seen many of the ‘safe-keeps’.

A long time ago the Carrs were a fearsome place. Long Tom Pattison was a wild slip of a lad, always up to mischief, but no one had an evil word against him, as he was full of fun. There were lots of tales of boggarts and horrors and such, and people would not be out at night alone. They would also carry something to keep the evil one's off. Tom wouldn't have a safe-keep though his mother had got one from the wise-woman for him. He said he would cross the Carrs on the darkest night of the year, with just a lantern, even round by the willow snag. Despite everyone trying to stop him, Tom went out onto the Carrs, with his lantern, singing and whistling. The other lads followed him. As Tom came near the willow snag, the wind came up the valley with a moan, and chill and damp came from the sea – wailing as if it carried with it all the evil things that dwell in the darkness. Out went Tom's lantern and he stopped singing and stood still by the snag. The horrors came and the other lads dropped onto their knees, watching and praying to the saints, the Virgin and wise-women. They heard Tom shouting and swearing and could see him fighting with the Things. They saw a disembodied hand pull him towards

the black bog. The horrors came round the lads, but their prayers and safe-keeps protected them. Tom disappeared. His mother searched for him to no avail. Seven nights later he was seen sitting with his back to the snag and his feet in the water. He was shaking, his hair had turned white and his hand had been pulled clean off. He never spoke again. He and his mother died a year later, and until the Carrs were drained, they haunted the area.

#### **1.3.1.7 *The Strangers' Share***

This man heard the tale from his grandparents.

The Strangers, or tiddy people were the size of new born babies. They were also called Greencoaties (for their green jackets), or Yarthkin (as they lived in the earth). They had arms and legs as thin as threads, but great big feet and hands, and heads rolling about on their shoulders. They wore grass green jackets and breeches, and yellow bonnets like toadstools on their heads and had queer faces with long tongues. People in the old days believed that if you were good to the Strangers, they would be good to you. In summer, these tiddy folk would dance on great flat stones. The people used to light fires on the stones and smear them with blood. In winter the tiddy folk danced by the fire-place indoors. They also helped the harvest, by making the tree buds come open and tweaking the flower buds. People believed that they helped make things grow and so to keep the Strangers happy they would give them the first fruits of the garden and the field, and the first of any meal they were about to eat. But, as time went by, the people forgot to make the offerings and eventually the strangers became angered by this. They made the harvest fail, the beasts become sick, the fever grow worse, the children die and everything go 'arsy-varsy'. This carried on for summer after summer, and the people took opium or drink to take their minds off their troubles. One day the wise-women got together and recalled the old ways. They got the people to start the old customs again and to tell the old stories, and slowly, slowly things returned to the way they were.

### **Part III (*Folk-Lore*, Volume 11, No. 4)**

#### **1.3.1.8 *The Flyin' Childer***

Balfour said she could remember little of the person who told this tale to her. She never knew his name. She met him in a small Inn some distance from where she lived,

where one day she had to spend an hour. He came from the Wolds.

A lad was fond of girls and couldn't keep away from them. One day he went round a corner and saw a girl washing herself. He swore he would wed her, if she'd follow him. She made him swear that he would wed her in the church. He agreed and she said that if he didn't marry her she would put a spell on him. He replied that if he didn't marry her the worms may eat him and their children have wings to fly away. They searched unsuccessfully for a church with a sober parson to marry them and eventually they arrived at a cottage in which an old man was sleeping. The lad killed the man with an axe and chopped the feet and hands off the body. They then threw the corpse out of the window, tidied up the cottage and lit the fire. The man then saw a wise-woman trying to steal the corpse. She said she wanted to bury it, but he said he would do it, and after an argument she went away. He buried the corpse and left one arm sticking out of the ground. He threw the feet and hands to the pigs, and then left the girl in the house, while he went off to snare a rabbit. She heard the feet and hands calling to be buried with the rest of the body, and she did this. Some time later the lad came home and asked where the children were. She said that they were gathering berries, but when they had not come back by nightfall, she said they were fishing, even the baby. Eventually she said they had flown away. He killed her and put her body parts under the bed. The children then came flying back and asked where their mother was. He eventually said that she was under the bed. The children then killed him and in death he met the girl who ran after him. He asked the thunder to strike him dead, the fire to burn him up, the water to drown him and the axe to cut his throat, but they wouldn't. In the end the great worm, who had the girls head on its long slimy body, ate him up.

#### **1.3.1.9 Fred th' Fool**

This was told by the same person as *The Flyin' Childer*. Balfour believed that this and the following tale were portions of the same story.

A man called Fred Baddeley took service with a farmer, on the other side of the Wolds. He was the sort of man who was always getting into trouble and he had an enormous appetite, though he was just a thin little lad. A farmer saw him at the hiring fair and offered him a job, as he thought he wouldn't cost much to feed and clothe. Fred took the job but the farmer soon found that he could eat the house bare, and still be hungry, and if he was given a beating, he would be even more hungry. One day the

farmer came home to find Fred with his head stuck in the bars of the storehouse. The farmer beat him and then pulled off his thumb nail. Some time later, on finding that his clothes looked tatty, and the farmer away from home, Fred stole the master's breeches and best coat. The farmer returned home and caught him, and in his rage, cut off Fred's hand with an axe. The farmer threatened that if Fred told anyone what had happened, he would call the police and have Fred arrested for stealing. A little while later Fred was caught stealing money and the farmer threw something at him which ended up breaking his arm so badly that it had to be chopped off. The farmer was not a popular man locally and he believed that his ricks might be burnt during the night. So he told Fred to keep watch all night, along with other work during the day. Fred fell asleep by the pigs in the yard and the farmer woke up to find his ricks blazing. In his fury, he threw Fred into the middle of the burning rick, where Fred got caught in the ropes and was burnt to death.

#### **1.3.1.10 Sam'l's Ghost**

This was told by Fanny, the child who narrated the *Dead Moon*. Balfour believed that she was much less interested in it and knew little of the life of Sam'l and how he came to be burnt.

There was a lad called Samuel who was burnt to death. The inside of him got up and gave himself a shake. He then heard a voice telling him to go down into the earth, where the Big Worm would eat him up, so that he could rest in peace. Samuel went down and eventually came to a dark and stinking place where the great worm lay, coiled up on a flat stone. The worm asked Samuel where his body was. He said he didn't know at first, but then came to understand that his body was in the ashes of the fire. He was told to fetch them and he did so. The worm sniffed the sack of ashes and asked where his arm was. Samuel said that the doctor had taken it and the worm told him to go and fetch it. He did so and the worm noticed that his nail was missing. This time Samuel was unable to find the missing piece and so he still walks the earth looking for it.

### **1.3.2 Are the *Legends* correct in being defined as such?**

Now that I have summarised the content of the *Legends* it is time to see if they fit the the main criteria for a story being a 'legend' – that they contain some historical ingredients that give a degree of believability, and as such are believed.

- *Tiddy Mun* is set in the Carrs and at the time of drainage though it is concerned

with a 'fabulous' rather than 'real' figure. It was told as true by the narrator.

- *The Dead Moon* was also set in the Carrs in a time prior to the completion of the drainage and the narrator verifies the truth of the tale by stating that her grandmother had seen the place where the moon had been trapped.
- The narrator of *The Green Mist* showed that whilst he did not necessarily believe the content of the tale that was set locally, many years earlier, but his grandfather did.
- *Yallery Brown* is different from the other *Legends* in that it was told in first person by a local man, thereby appearing as true, and (as we shall see later) it also appears to have been set within the village.
- *The Dead Hand* was similarly set locally and the teller said he “reckon that's a true ta'ale.”
- *The Strangers' Share* was told to the man by his grandparents, related if as if it were true and included references to the local men drinking gin and the women taking opium to cope with the hardships.
- Balfour acknowledged that *A Pottle o' Brains* was “of a different character, more of what is known among folklorists as a Droll.”
- Balfour also noted that the last three tales were less legends than drolls and were not looked on by the tellers as “in any sense true”(p. 401). However, as a 'droll', by definition includes some semblance of 'humour' this descriptor seems not to fit. The tales seem to have more of the characteristic motifs of Märchen<sup>4</sup> as the characters within them seem to possess supernatural powers of transformation or endurance.
- *The Flyin' Childer*, *Fred th' Fool* and *Sam'l's Ghost* contain no comments on their truth or hints in this direction.

To conclude, the tales in Parts I and II of the *Legends*, with the exception of *A Pottle o' Brains*, do actually fit the description of legends whereas Part III do not.

---

<sup>4</sup> Märchen is a German term for a folktale that is characterized by elements of magic or the supernatural. It is often translated as 'fairy tale'.

## 1.4 THE INFLUENCE OF THE FOLKLORE SOCIETY TO 1891

“The old books are not likely to perish: the men and women who know the old tales are dying every year. But where you have one man ready and willing to collect folk-lore or dialect, you find a hundred who want to advance theories of to write little grammars” (Addy, 1907, p. 346).

“A little patient effort will in all probability enable the collector to make the acquaintance of some old grandfather or grandmother of this class, who, sitting in the chimney-corner of some old-fashioned kitchen, loves nothing better than to pour out tales of 'old times'” (Burne, 1890, p. 329).

“It has become customary to blame nineteenth century...folklorists for asking the wrong people the wrong questions at the wrong time” (Beyer, 2011, p. 36).

### 1.4.1 The Early Antiquarians

Since the seventeenth century, scholars followed the philosophy of Francis Bacon in trying to investigate the natural or primitive in order to rise above its influence and achieve control of nature and language itself (Bauman & Briggs, 2003, pp. 20-26). They sought to compare the old days and old ways, to the new reasoned thinking and saw the peasant folk as still holding on to the primitive ways. According to Bauman and Briggs, **John Aubrey (1626-1697)**,<sup>5</sup> believed that he should restore the way of life that was now only found in the remnants of the past. He noted however, that some things had improved and that as the “old women and mayds” no longer told “fabulous stories...of Sprights and walking ghosts...” the children were no longer afraid (pp. 75-77). He elaborated on this by stating that

Before Printing, Old-Wives Tales were ingeniose: and since Printing came in fashion...Bookes are common, and most of the poor people understand letters; and many god Bookes...have put all the old Fables out of dores: and...Printing and Gunpowder have frighted away Robin-good-fellow and the Fayries (p. 75).

Aubrey was pleased to see the change to a more literate society, but also recognised the necessity of collecting the folk tales before they disappeared (p. 78).

In the eighteenth century **Henry Bourne (1694-1733)**, a cleric from a relatively humble background, showed more interest in contrasting the modern rational thinking with the heathenism and the remnants of Catholicism, that still remained in rural areas. He devised the term 'Antiquitates Vulgares' to describe the old customs and ceremonies that survived amongst the 'vulgar', the common strata of society, who were ignorant and

---

<sup>5</sup> To save this section from the over-use of subtitles, I will highlight the names of significant individuals, within each paragraph, in bold.



uneducated. Bourne also noted that it was the “legendary stories of nurses and old women” that maintained the old beliefs (Bauman & Briggs, 2003, p. 82; Zimmerman, 2001, p. 167) and whilst he realised that some of the old customs may have once had roots in the “good” and pure, they were now “spiritually dangerous”. He viewed the antiquary as “the moral guardian of the common people, impelled by his religious duty and enabled by his intellectual superiority to police and purify the beliefs and practices of the vulgar, who are too ignorant and uncritical to look after themselves” (Bauman & Briggs, 2003, p. 84; Golby & Purdue, 1999, p. 50).

**John Brand (1744-1806)**, with a similar background to Bourne, sought to extend and republish the works of the earlier antiquaries. He noted that “The English antique has become a general and fashionable study; and the discoveries of the very respectable Society of Antiquaries have rendered the recesses of papal and heathen antiquities easier of access” (Bauman & Briggs, 2003, p. 86). Brand realised that it was the “oral tradition” that had kept the traditions alive as they had not previously been written down. He believed though, that it was necessary for control of the hard working mass of the population, to retain the “innocent sports and games”(Bauman & Briggs, 2003, p. 88; Dorson, 1968a, p. 9; Golby & Purdue, 1999, p. 51).

## **1.4.2 The Brothers Grimm**

In the early nineteenth century, **Jacob Grimm (1785-1863)** and his brother **Wilhelm Grimm (1786-1859)** began to publish collections of European folktales gathered from both literary and oral sources. They left evidence of their scholarly method and published their first tales with notes in 1812 (Kamenetsky, 1992, p. 45; Bauman & Briggs, 2003, p. 207). Their aim was to establish a network of informants; however, their final results were from a relatively small geographic area, and mainly from members of middle class families. Despite this, they earned the reputation for saving “innocent household tales” from oblivion, though they believed that their loyalty was more towards the substance of the story rather than the syntax (Dégh, 1991, p. 66; Kamenetsky, 1992, p. 163).

Holbek noted that the Grimms were of the opinion that fairy tales were myths that had sunk to the level of being the stories of children and simple people whilst the “leading classes embraced the leading higher religions” (1987, p. 17). It was believed that the peasants were unable to create stories for themselves and so they were just handed from

one generation to another. It was also alleged that fairy tales and local legends descended from the myths and reflected heavenly phenomenon (Dorson, 1968a, p. 66). As such the Grimms, within their later editions, sought to improve the tales in a number of ways including adding dialogue and personal names of their own invention (Bauman & Briggs, 2003, p. 209; Dundes, 1990, p. 35; Dégh, 1991, p. 69; Ward, 1991, p. 109).

The English translation of the Grimms *Kinder-und-Hausmarchen* was first available in English in 1823. Pellowski noted that the influence of this book led to people seeing the folk-tales of the lower classes as being an acceptable field of study and speculated that it “was probably fashionable to visit one's childhood nurse, listen to her tales, and report on them to one's intellectual and social peer”. Along with these researchers, travellers would seek to report on storytelling “among the natives” (1977, p. 13).

### **1.4.3 The Foundation of the Folklore Society**

Alongside the search for folk tales came a drive to find proof of man's primitive past<sup>6</sup>, and from this, two new disciplines emerged – folklore and anthropology, the former evolving from the earlier study of Popular Antiquities. A new theory that culture evolved from the primitive to the civilised became popular, though this contrasted with the Brothers Grimm who believed in the virtues of the people of the past rather than an emphasis on their 'savage primitivism' (Kamenetsky, 1992, p. 58).

**William J. Thoms (1803-1885)**, who had first coined the term 'Folk-Lore', was the driving force behind the foundation of the Folklore Society in 1878 (Burstein, 1957, p. 323). Folklore was seen as a relic of a bygone age and words were used to indicate this, such as: “bygones, popular antiquities, survivals”, likewise the people who possessed the folklore were regarded as “superstitious, illiterate, backward, primitive” (Dorson, 1973, p. 33). These 'country people' with their old tales, songs and beliefs were the research material for study that was viewed as scientific and 'up-to-date' (Boyes, 1993, p. 8). Dundes (1980, p. 4) noted that these scholars viewed the 'folk' as being within the following structure: Savage or Primitive – pre-(or non)literate; Folk or Peasant – illiterate, rural, lower stratum; Civilized or elite – literate, urban, upper stratum.

The founder members of the Folklore Society were also “fascinated by the parallels

---

<sup>6</sup> In the early nineteenth century, particularly in Britain, geologists, archaeologists and antiquarians were seeking to explain the origins of human civilisation through theories of evolution. Darwin's *Origin of the Species*, which appeared in 1859, soon became the accepted model to which the other disciplines would adhere.

they observed between the 'animistic' and 'irrational' culture of the peasantry in the outlying districts and sleepy villages...and that of 'backward' and 'savage' tribes in 'uncivilised' parts of the globe..."(Walsham, 2008, p. 179; Boyes, 1993, p. 8). They believed in the need to record the 'puerile superstitions' of the older generations that were fast disappearing as a result of the spread of 'correct information' (Walsham, 2008, p. 180).

The first Council of the Folklore Society included G.L. Gomme as Secretary and a number of notable people such as Thoms, E.B. Tylor, Andrew Lang and Alfred Nutt. They would soon be joined by Edward Clodd and Sydney Hartland and the collective would later be named 'The Great Team' by Dorson<sup>7</sup> to denote how they accepted the uni-linear view of cultural evolution. Bennett has recently criticised the Folklore Society for its narrow view, which was reinforced by censorship applied by Nutt's family publishing business (Bennett, 1996, p. 213).

The members of the Folklore Society, and other nineteenth century scholars saw stories as cultural artefacts and traditional linguistic entities, full of meaningful symbols (Georges, 1969b p. 313). **Freidrich Max Müller (1823-1900)**, whose views differed from theirs, felt that folktale plots were degenerated explanations of natural phenomena – sun, moon stars, storms etc., (Zimmerman, 2001, p. 279). In a letter that was published in *The Academy* in 1882, Müller (1882, p. 193) recommended that there should be a recognised journal in which "the best students of folk-lore should publish their best treasures". He believed that there was "a peculiar earthy flavour about the genuine home-grown" tale and that an experienced collector should be able to tell the genuine from the "made-up". He recommended that variants of stories "should be collected from different sources and in different localities" and recorded using the very words of the teller in dialect. Such accurate recording would, he believed, "be a safeguard against that dishonesty in the collection of stories from which we have suffered so much". He was scathing in his attack on those who alter stories: "A collector who trims and embellishes a story ought to be whipped...a man who invents a story and publishes it as genuine ought to be shot."

---

<sup>7</sup> Though as Wood has pointed out, there is no evidence that they viewed themselves as a team in the records of the Folklore Society (1999, p. 4).

#### 1.4.4 The Role of the Folklore Society

The Folklore Society soon began to prioritise the collection and storage of not just stories, but also “a vast amount of curious, out-of-the-way old-wives' lore” and they encouraged their members to search out folk-lore columns from local journals and to “preserve these columns for future use.”<sup>8</sup> This evidence of primitive beliefs and customs, would be sent by the members to be eventually included in the *County Folklore Series*. These publications, which never achieved the aim of covering the whole of the country, would support the evolutionary theory (Fine 1984, p.21).

The fact that majority of the members of the Council, only collected folklore from published sources,<sup>9</sup> and were more keen on proving theories than on collecting, was heavily criticised by Addy, (1902, pp. 297-299) a Yorkshire folklorist who believed in, and advised on, ways to gather evidence from the people. It was his firm belief that the duty of the Society should be to record the remnants of the dying traditions and he wrote a scathing attack on those who preferred their 'armchair' to the “rush-bottomed chair in a cottage” (1907, p. 346).

Such armchair folklorists also included the acknowledged 'Father of Anthropology' **Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917)**, who first came to public attention in 1871 with the publication of two volume, *Primitive Culture*,<sup>10</sup> in which he explored many world beliefs. Tylor drew attention to his theories on the personification of the Sun, Moon and Stars (1871a, p. 260), nature spirits (p. 267), water-spirits (p. 192) and the making of offerings of first fruits (1871b, p. 330), and blood (p. 347). He found that belief in the supernatural “... appears among all low races...” (1871a, p. 384) and that all genres of folklore were the surviving remnants of primitive culture (Storey, 2003, p. 6; Dorson, 1968a, p. 193). Tylor's evidence was, in the main, gleaned from the research of others, though it was to form the foundation for the school of anthropological folklorists who believed in the “doctrine of survivals” (Dorson, 1968a, p. 181) which stated that all genres of folklore survive as fragments of primitive culture.

The Director of the Folklore Society, and President from 1892, **George Lawrence**

---

<sup>8</sup> *Folklore Record* 1880, p. 5. The Folklore Society was set up, and constituted with a publishing rather than a collecting focus (Boyes, 1978, p. 39).

<sup>9</sup> A notable exception was Burne who collected from the people of Shropshire. Her views will be explored later within this thesis.

<sup>10</sup> Tylor (1871a, p. 1) was the first person to introduce the word 'Culture' into English in 1865. He defined it as “that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.”

**Gomme (1853-1916)** conceived a number of bibliographical and co-operative projects to enhance the resources of the folklorist (Dorson, 1968a, p. 317). As yet another 'evolutionist,' he sought to provide evidence of 'pagan practices' from diverse places, though he also mixed the past and the present and in his book, *Folklore Relics of Early Village Life* (1883a), he included an Anglo-Saxon fertility rite (1883a, p. 138), a Mayan fertility rite, the sprinkling of blood to protect a house from Athlone, Ireland (p. 76) with dancing to "propitiate the spirits of the earth" from the Karok tribes of North America (p. 127).

Gomme (1892, p. vi) was keen on the classification of all items of folklore and the foundation of a science that would "help us to understand more of the development of thought than any other subject." He also built on Tylor's references to primitive culture and its parallels with the folklore of the civilised world and looked at the mythic influence of a conquered race and the folk belief in fairies. He believed that the (1892, p. 9, p. 42) druid practices became those of the witches and the fairy belief influenced the belief in demons.

**Andrew Lang (1844-1912)**, who was a member of the Council of the Folklore Society from its commencement, also argued for an evolutionary approach based on tales, customs and beliefs (Montenyohl, 1988, p. 272; Thompson, 1977, p. 381). Throughout his career he was a prolific writer and wrote regular and influential columns in such publications as *Longman's Magazine* in which he outlined his literary and other opinions. In 1884 he published a collection of essays aimed at encouraging comparisons of myths and customs beyond the Aryan-speaking peoples, and followed this with the two volume *Myth, Ritual and Religion* (1887), in which he explored the development of primitive mythology<sup>11</sup> (Dorson, 1968a, p. 217).

In 1888 Lang became President of the Folklore Society, though he only stayed in post until January 1892, when he returned to being a Vice President. As a leading figure in the Society for Psychical Research, Lang had strange dreams and saw ghosts but was aware of how his interests in psychic matters fueled controversy. When his book *Cock Lane and Common Sense* (1895) drew no reaction from his folklorist peers, he wrote "I am in disgrace with the Folklore Society...for maintaining that...some people do see hallucinatory pictures in glass balls, in carafes of water, in ink, and, generally, in any

---

<sup>11</sup> His arguments with Müller over the priority of myth or folklore were first published in 1873 under the title '*Mythology and Fairy Tales*'

clear depth” (Dorson, 1952, p. 8).

Lang was a friend of Robert Louis Stevenson, who he met at University, and he often encouraged and almost collaborated with him. He also admired the work of the Brothers Grimm and Perrault and wrote lengthy introductions to reprints of their tales in English. He believed that Märchen tales from around the world could provide glimpses of man's past (Dorson, 1968a, p. 192) and he sought to emulate the work of the Grimms by faithfully reproducing many well-known fairy stories for children in his collection of *Fairy Books*<sup>12</sup> (Montenyohl, 1987, p. 180).

**Joseph Jacobs (1854-1916)** was famous both as a folklorist, and as an historian of the Jewish peoples. Born in Sydney, Australia, he moved to London in 1837. He believed that stories were diffused as they travelled with people from place to place rather than that they corresponded to evolutionary changes (Dorson, 1968b, p. 499; Zimmerman, 2001, p. 279).<sup>13</sup> He contributed to the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* before joining the Folklore Society and later becoming editor of *Folk-Lore* from 1889-1900 (Dorson, 1968a, p. 499). Jacobs felt that the arrival of Perrault & Grimm's tales had led to the disappearance of many original English folk-tales (Dorson, 1968a, p. 506) and he worked with the publisher Alfred Nutt, to collate a number of collections of such Fairy Tales.<sup>14</sup>

Like the Brothers Grimm however, Jacobs rewrote, revised and polished the eighty seven stories he included in his books, editing out impurities and creating composites. Accused by Lang of having “maimed, altered, and distorted” the originals, a charge that was repeated by Hartland and Gomme, he denied the accusation, replying that he had simply done as the Grimms had done (Jacobs, 1894, p. 140; Burstein, 1957, p. 331; Silver, 2004, p. 106; Zimmerman, 2001, p. 280; Dorson 1968a, p. 511). For this 'crime' Jacobs was virtually 'excommunicated' from the 'ranks of true folklorists' and the Folklore Society even failed to notice his death in the *Folklore*<sup>15</sup> (Philip, 2003, p. 45).

---

<sup>12</sup> The first of the 25, was the *Blue Fairy Book* (1889). Gomme was critical of Lang and Jacobs' fairy tale books in his Presidential address to the Folklore Society in 1890. Richardson & Kenyon noted that the Victorian story anthologists seemed not to be motivated by the prospect of commercial reward (2005, p. 85)

<sup>13</sup> “The aim was to seek the Urform – the birth place of the story in its original form. Moving down generations, they believed did not change a story, but moving horizontally from place to place did! (Zimmerman, 2001, p. 378).

<sup>14</sup> *English Fairy Tales* (1890), *Celtic Fairy Tales* (1891), *More English Fairy Tales* (1893), *More Celtic Fairy Tales* (1894), *Aesop's Fables* (1894), *The Book of Wonder Voyages* (1896).

<sup>15</sup> Jacobs failed to publish his planned scholarly work and his notes and manuscripts have disappeared (Conversation with Philip in 2007) I have also been unsuccessful in finding any such documents.

An indicator of his editing can be seen in the comparison between *Dead Moon* from the *Legends* and his *Buried Moon* in Appendix 13.

**Alfred Nutt (1856-1910)**, the son of a London publisher, and another founding member of the Folklore Society,<sup>16</sup> was hugely influential in the spread of interest in folklore and published many books on the subject along with co-editing a number of the Folklore Society papers with Jacobs (Dorson, 1968a, p. 340; Wood, 1999, p. 4). Whilst he, like other members of 'The Great Team' was a propagator of the evolutionary approach, he was not dismissive of the 'borrowing' theory of the diffusion of tales as supported by Jacobs (Wood, 1999, p. 6, Zimmerman, 2001, p. 279) and even defined 'folklore' as "anthropology dealing with primitive man"(1884, p. 311).

**Charlotte Burne (1850-1923)** became a member of the Folklore Society in 1883 and a member of the Council in 1887, after completing the editing of the *Shropshire Folk-Lore* for the Society in the previous year. A regular contributor to *Folk-Lore*, along with other newspapers and journals, she had been collecting folklore since she was a young girl and also had no aversion to actually talking to potential informants. In 1890 Burne wrote a guide to *The Collection of English Folk-Lore*, in which she noted that the best collecting, was "that which is done by accident, by living among the people." However, she acknowledged that deliberate searching was also required to gain a full perspective on the beliefs of an area" (Burne 1890, p. 326). Burne,(p. 328) provided hints on gaining folklore from informants, such as talking to the parish clerk, or sexton, the innkeeper and local schoolchildren, along with the older people within the community. She also encouraged not just the collecting of folk customs and belief, but also the folk versions of histories. Ashman and Bennett noted her contradictory beliefs, which meant that whilst she could affirm that there were "barbarians nearer home than India or New Zealand" she could also recommend that "the ideas of the folk are not necessarily to be ridiculed or despised when they differ from those which... education has instilled" (2000, p. 9).

**James Frazer's (1854-1941)** interest in anthropology was first sparked by Tylor (Kardiner & Preble, 1962, p. 82). In 1889, whilst a member of the Folklore Society Council, he submitted an article on Harvest customs to *Folk-Lore*. The following year

---

<sup>16</sup> Nutt also founded *The Folk-Lore Journal*, now *Folklore*. Philip examined four stories that were allegedly collected direct from the 'peasantry' and found Jacobs declaration to be inaccurate (1992, p. xvii).

he released the first edition of his *The Golden Bough* (1890),<sup>17</sup> which documented and detailed similar magical and religious beliefs across the globe. Frazer put forward the theory that human belief progressed through three stages – primitive magic, religious belief and science. In the beginning, according to Frazer, man was absolutely destitute of religious belief, which "explains the succession of natural phenomena as regulated by the will" (1922, p. 723). Frazer, like the other members of the Council of the Folklore Society, carried out no fieldwork. He gained his knowledge of primitive societies from missionaries who were familiar with their country's culture and language and accepted their views without investigating further.

Whilst Harte (2004, p. 18) was later to compare Balfour's *Legends* to Frazer's *Golden Bough*, there appear to be no links between the two, even though the latter was on the Folklore Society Council at the time when the *Legends* were sent to the Society.<sup>18</sup> However Frazer was directly influenced by Tylor and Mannhardt, whom Balfour may have read.

**Wilhelm Mannhardt (1831-1880)**<sup>19</sup> was a German folklorist who was influenced by the Grimms. He recommended the systematic collection of folklore material – the traditions, folktales, customs and beliefs of the peasants, as he believed that these "valuable scientific materials" were "disappearing every day in the face of increasing civilization" and that the "agricultural customs" should be collected according to "a historical and philological method" (1999, p. 15-24). This collecting would be carried out parish by parish, and Mannhardt prepared a widely distributed questionnaire to help with this process.

#### **1.4.5 The Popularity of Fairies and Interest in the Vikings**

According to Dorson (1968a, p. 12), the most influential of the antiquaries was **Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832)** who enjoyed dual careers in both story writing and story-recording. His novel *The Antiquary* (1816)<sup>20</sup> explored the way in which a researcher could move from the library to the village community to "imbibe the oral tradition" as discerned by Brand. He also carried out much research on witchcraft and the belief in

<sup>17</sup> The publication of *The Golden Bough* in 1890 resulted in the Folklore Society becoming firmly entrenched in the search for "ritual/pagan origins" (Burstein, 1957, p. 330). Their views were widely expressed not just in *Folk-Lore*, but also in the numerous books, written by the membership.

<sup>18</sup> I have carried out an extensive search of the Frazer archives at Trinity College, Cambridge (February 2011).

<sup>19</sup> Nutt recognised the profound influence of Mannhardt on Frazer (Brabrook et al 1901, p. 238).

<sup>20</sup> Scott (1933) *Complete Works*.



fairies and noted how such beliefs intermingled.

Bown (2001, p. 1) recently confirmed the belief that “fairies were everywhere in nineteenth century culture”, and she outlined how they were depicted not just within the home, but also on the stage and in numerous exhibitions. Purkiss also noted that fairies provided the inspiration for many teaching materials in the late nineteenth century (Purkiss 2000, p.258).<sup>21</sup> Bown also found that fairies were not just for children, they also provided adults with a means of escapist fantasy in “visions and descriptions of fairies and fairyland”. A huge number of fairy-tales both literary and traditional were published during this period, and in an age of religious doubt literate people kept up a pretence of a belief that linked them with their forbears. Harris (2008, p. 16) agreed with Bown and documented the link between the preoccupation with fairies and fantasy in literature with the fascination shown in the survival of pagan beliefs in the countryside.

Regarding interest in pagan traditions, yet another antiquarian who was interested in rescuing dying traditions was **Sir George Dasent (1817-1896)**, who in 1859 translated Norwegian folktales for an English audience (Dorson, 1968b, p. 572). Dasent was keen to show that there were close links between English and the old Norse. He noted that English and Norwegian were “nearly allied, both in vocabulary and construction” and that “the old religion and mythology of the Norseman still lives disguised” in the tales he collected (Gunnell, 2010, pp. 18-20). The passion for uncovering Norse roots, was evidenced by the success of The Viking Society, popularly known at the time as The Viking Club (Wawn, 2000, p. 186). Founded in London, in 1892 as a social and literary organisation dedicated to the study and promotion of the ancient culture of Scandinavia,<sup>22</sup> the journal of the Society, *The Saga Book*, was one of many influential publications in the last two decades of the nineteenth century (Wawn, 1990, p. 214).

## **1.5 WHO WAS MARIE CLOTHILDE BALFOUR?**

---

<sup>21</sup> The school log book states that in addition to being taught a song called 'The Moon' (as covered in section 3.3.3 and Appendix 4) the children in Redbourne were being taught 'The Fairies Dance'.

<sup>22</sup> The society was an offspring of the Orkney and Shetland Society of London. It was to change its name to the Society for Northern Research (1902) and then the Viking Society for Northern Research (1912) (Townsend 1990, p.188). The society is not the same as the Viking Club founded by E.V. Gordon and J.R.R. Tolkien at Leeds University in the 1920s.

### 1.5.1 Early Years in New Zealand

Marie Clothilde Balfour was born in Edinburgh in 1862, the only child of James Melville Balfour<sup>23</sup> and Christina (née Simson). When she was only a baby, her father, who worked for the Edinburgh lighthouse builders, D. & T. Stevenson to whom he was related,<sup>24</sup> took the position of Provincial Marine Engineer for Otago in New Zealand.<sup>25</sup> At his time the province had seen the number of vessels arriving increase from 60 vessels to almost 1000 per year as a result of the discovery of gold in May 1861.<sup>26</sup> The Balfour family and an unnamed servant left Scotland in June 1863 to sail from Gravesend, Kent for a new and permanent life in the colony.<sup>27</sup> They arrived, along with the parts for two lighthouses in September.

As an employee of the Provincial Government of Otago, the family settled in Dunedin which, though a relatively new town, already had well laid out streets and some fine wooden buildings.<sup>28</sup> At the time of their arrival there were just seven lighthouses on the coast of New Zealand, which had also witnessed hundreds of shipwrecks, and Mr Balfour soon came to believe that the colony needed not a few expensive lighthouses but many small inexpensive structures.<sup>29</sup> In October 1866 Mr Balfour was appointed Marine Engineer to the whole colony. This position also made him Superintendent of Lighthouses (Beaglehole, 2006, p. 61) and he set in place the plans to site lighthouses around the coast.

Initially the seat of the New Zealand Government was in Auckland and Marie was later to recall a picnic some miles out of the town during the Maori War, “when black-berry picking (the cause of the expedition), had to be carried out within a circle of armed guards.”<sup>30</sup> In July 1865 the Parliament met for the first time in the new Capital of

<sup>23</sup> J M Balfour was one of the Balfour's of Pilrig. The family home, which was mentioned by R L Stevenson in *Kidnapped* and *Catriona*, is situated to the north of Edinburgh.

<sup>24</sup> J M Balfour was the brother-in-law of Thomas Stevenson (who was in turn the father of R L Stevenson).

<sup>25</sup> The Stevenson's had been asked by the Otago Provincial Government to appoint three engineers – for Roads (& Bridges), Railways and Marine (Mr Balfour) (Otago Settlers Museum AG136 and correspondence dated 28 Sept 1863 OPGG 1863, p.372, Dunedin Archives).

<sup>26</sup> Many arrived in Otago in 1862 after the discovery of gold in Gabriel's Gully (Otago Witness 18 July 1895 p.21 online). It has been calculated that 80% of immigrants to the Otago Province were from Scotland (Brooking, 1985, p. 159).

<sup>27</sup> Otago Daily Times 14 Sept 1863 p4 and correspondence dated 28 Sept 1863 OPGG 1863, p.372, Dunedin Archives.

<sup>28</sup> Dùn Èideann was founded in 1848 as a Scottish settlement and given the Scottish Gaelic name for Edinburgh as its rugged hills, climate and clear rivers reminded them of their former homeland.

<sup>29</sup> Letter from Balfour to J. Chance, 7 November 1864, p.139. Alexander Turnbull Library.

<sup>30</sup> Balfour-Melville 1907, p. 288. In 1865, Gladstone estimated that the Maori Wars had “cost John Bull the best part of 3 million” (Dalton, 1967, p. 18). The last active employment of regular troops

Wellington on the south western coast of the North Island on the Cook Strait, the passage that separates the North and South Islands.<sup>31</sup>

By 1868, with the Marine Department based in Wellington<sup>32</sup> Mr Balfour would have been required to travel around the Islands. At this time, with no overland communication between any two settlements in the North Island, and limited transportation in the south, much of the travel would have been by sea (Dalton, 1967, p. 231). The Balfour family home was at this time, a six bedroomed property in Wellington Terrace.<sup>33</sup>

As time had progressed, Mr. Balfour had become highly respected in the Colony and he and his friend and colleague, the Civil Engineer Thomas Patterson warned the Government of the dangers experienced through lack of bridges and harbours, which made it hard to cross rivers, and also meant that travellers by sea had to disembark using surf-boats. A few weeks later Mr. Balfour heard of the death of Patterson who was drowned in a coach whilst crossing the Kakanui River.<sup>34</sup> The Balfour family related the following story:

...when James Balfour was returning from his friends funeral he also was drowned by the capsizing of a surf-boat which was to carry him to the steamer...at the time of his death he appeared to his brother George in Scotland. So clear an impression did George receive of James' visible presence that he wrote at once to New Zealand to ask if all was well. His letter crossed that which announced the fact of James' death (Balfour-Melville, 1907, p. 239).

This story differs from the account in the local newspaper which explained that Mr. Balfour was going from Timaru to Dunedin to attend Patterson's funeral and drowned when, on 18 December 1869, a 'heavy roller' upset the lifeboat that had rescued the travellers from the surf-boat. Mr Balfour and another passenger, "...had not the strength to hold on to the ropes thrown for their rescue and had sunk to rise no more."<sup>35</sup>

---

was in November 1866 (Dalton, 1965, p. 240). There are conflicting accounts of the nature of the Maori Wars which were a series of conflicts involving British, Imperial and Colonial, and the Maori tribes of the North Island. Belich (1986, p. 15) has suggested that they were not "storms in a teacup or gentlemanly bouts of fisticuffs, but bitter and bloody struggles" in which 180,000 British troops were mobilised against the indigenous people who numbered no more than 60,000 in total.

<sup>31</sup> This move was partially out of fear that with the huge numbers of immigrants arriving in the South Island they might try to form their own colony. A letter from J M Balfour indicates that he was in Wellington when the Government was in session.

<sup>32</sup> A notice from J M Balfour, dated August 1868, published in the *Otago Witness* can be found online.

<sup>33</sup> Probate papers for J M Balfour, Reference AAOM W3265 6029 Box 11, Wellington Archives. The road, then known as Wellington Terrace is now simply The Terrace.

<sup>34</sup> New Zealand Inquests online.

<sup>35</sup> *Timaru Herald* 1869 [online] described the Timaru roadstead as a 'Ships Cemetery'.

Patterson's personal correspondence indicates that the two friends had intended to spend Christmas together in Wellington.<sup>36</sup>

## **1.5.2 Back to Edinburgh**

One could speculate on the emotional impact of the death of James Balfour, who was just thirty-eight years old and on the brink of achieving so much in the colony. It is clear that he died intestate and his widow hired an attorney to handle the sale of their belongings while she and her daughter returned to Edinburgh<sup>37</sup> and by July 1870 they were staying in the Stevensons summer cottage, south of the city at Swanston<sup>38</sup> with Marie's cousin, Robert Louis Stevenson, twelve years her senior, and his nurse Alison Cunningham.<sup>39</sup>

At some point the Balfour family settled with Christina's artist aunt and uncle at the large three-storey family home in Frederick Street, Edinburgh, just a short walk away from the Stevensons town house in Heriot Row. It is clear that Marie regarded her new home with much affection as she later wrote of the "old house ... which a little child still at the other side of the world, was taught to call 'home'."<sup>40</sup>The property was also an 'Institute for drawing, painting and perspective' with classes on Monday, Wednesday and Friday afternoons.<sup>41</sup>

## **1.5.3 Albert Henry Nicholson**

In November 1871, Mrs Balfour, at the age of thirty-four, married again. Her suitor was Albert Henry Nicholson, a thirty-eight year old, former sheep farmer, who had returned from New Zealand.<sup>42</sup> Albert was English and had probably enjoyed a privileged childhood as one of the Nicholson's of Roundhay Park in Leeds, a family who had gained enormous wealth through shipping, and had built a mansion house on their estate. One particularly noticeable incident from Albert's childhood is worth repeating here.

---

<sup>36</sup> Otago Settlers Museum AG136. The two friends were buried in adjoining plots in Dunedin South Cemetery.

<sup>37</sup> Probate papers, Reference AAOM W3265 6029 Box 11, Wellington Archives.

<sup>38</sup> Letter from R L Stevenson dated 1 July 1870 mentioning "Aunt Kitty and Chloe"(Booth & Mehew 1994, p. 96).

<sup>39</sup> Also known as 'Cummy', the nurse was a strong influence on RL Stevenson and remained with the family until 1872.

<sup>40</sup> Dedication in the front of M C Balfour's novel (1897).

<sup>41</sup> Advert in *The Scotsman* [online].

<sup>42</sup> Civil records for England. Sheep farming was common in New Zealand though most farmers were Scottish (Brooking, 1985, p.175-177).

In May 1840, when Albert was about seven years of age, his father, William Nichols Nicholson, was staying at Roundhay mansion and “shot by mistake Mr Thompson, gamekeeper...[who]...was keeping watch ...unknown to him, and he supposing and that an attempt was being made by thieves to enter the house, fired a gun and killed the keeper”(Mayhall, 1866, p. 467). This shooting of the gamekeeper in no way hindered the career of Nicholson who held the Offices of Deputy Lieutenant and Justice of the Peace for West Yorkshire.<sup>43</sup>

Six years after the marriage of Albert and Christina, Marie’s half sister Millicent Claudine was born in Kent. By 1881 Christina and her daughters had moved to Kensington, London whilst Albert was listed as ‘abroad’. As formal education for girls was gaining in popularity in the city, it is likely that Marie attended a school. This may have been a Roman Catholic school as this appears to have been the faith she practised.<sup>44</sup>

### 1.5.4 Another Family Story

Another story from Balfour’s family also merits acknowledgement for its possible influence on her later life. Her mother, as the daughter of George Simson, from Dundee and Marianne Clothilde Grandeau from France, grew up in Edinburgh. Marianne’s mother, Pierette Ducarre was from a wealthy silk weaving family from Lyon. According to the *Balfours of Pilrig* account, before the outbreak of the French Revolution, Pierette lived with her two sons, the youngest newly born, and her husband M. Joseph Grandeau in a fine house in Lyon. As the Terror spread in 1793, her husband fled leaving Pierette to see their house wrecked, her father executed and her mother thrown into prison. The story continues:

After some time she got a letter from her husband telling her that he had escaped to Italy and urging her to follow him with the children. She had little money and...an exceptionally severe winter was over all the land, but disguised as a peasant she started on foot, with one baby at her breast and one in her hand, and her only baggage was the lute she used to sing to in happier days...In after years she showed her daughters a faded tricolour cockade, and said but for that...she would have been torn to pieces...she begged and sang her way over the snow, hungry and cold...singing in ale-shops among the most brutal of the country-folk... (Balfour-Melville, 1907, p. 240)

---

<sup>43</sup> W N Nicholson died in 1868.

<sup>44</sup> She was married in St Mary’s Cathedral, Edinburgh and was later to contribute articles to the Catholic Publication *New Blackfriars* (See Appendix 5).

The children did not survive the 354 km journey, and when Pierette reached Genoa, her husband, whilst walking on the quays recognised a voice singing an old familiar song. He turned round to see an “old, haggard, half-crazed woman” so unlike the young wife he had left. “Here Joseph, are your sons!’ she cried, holding out to him the lute which she had carried in her arms “as if she dreamt that it was the child she had lost...”

Two daughters were later to be born to Pierette and Joseph Grandeau including Marianne Clothilde in 1798. It is said that their father, insisted the girls be dressed as boys and called them by the name of the sons who had died, but the names “never passed the mother's lips”(Balfour-Melville, 1907, p. 240). At some time Joseph and his daughters moved to Scotland where he became a teacher of French<sup>45</sup> and died in 1830.

Research<sup>46</sup> shows that the general facts of this story seem to be correct.<sup>47</sup> The Ducarre family were involved in the silk industry in Lyon and the couple did have two sons,<sup>48</sup> one being three years of age, and the other just three months at the time of the Siege of Lyon in 1793, during which 2000 people were ordered to be executed. A search failed to reveal any information on the whereabouts of these two boys beyond 1793.

### **1.5.5 Adult life before and just after Marriage**

At some time in the early to mid 1880s Balfour appears to have written a 'small book'. This was mentioned in a letter from M I Stevenson to R L Stevenson's wife: “Auntie [Jane Whyte Balfour] sent a small book to Louis & she is very anxious to know what Louis & you think of it. It is written by Chloe Balfour who wishes to come out as an authoress!”<sup>49</sup> Extensive searches have failed to reveal anything more about this book.

It also appears that Balfour and her mother were keen on continuing a correspondence with R L Stevenson. A letter from 1883 survives from Stevenson's wife to his mother stating that she is worried about her husband's health and is unwilling to urge him “to carry on a correspondence with his Cousin Chloe and her mother as “his letters to you and his father are hardly more than intimations that he is alive.”<sup>50</sup>

<sup>45</sup> His father was also a teacher of French and Italian, in Lyon. A search failed to find out when and where the girls were born and if Pierette also went to Scotland.

<sup>46</sup> Research by myself, with the assistance of French genealogist Philippe Chapelin of [www.gefrance.com](http://www.gefrance.com)

<sup>47</sup> However the fate of the Pierette's parents – Claude and Louise Ducarre are inaccurate as they died in 1801 and 1811 respectively.

<sup>48</sup> The names of the boys were Theodore Louis Odille and Claude Marie Grandeau.

<sup>49</sup> Beinecke collection, Volume 6 p.2564 Item 8293. Richard Dury of the Robert Louis Stevenson Archive believed this letter to date from the early to mid 1880's (Email correspondence).

<sup>50</sup> Beinecke Collection, Volume 3 p. 1149 item 3773.

In 1885 Balfour married her cousin James Craig Balfour, a doctor who was seven years older than her, in Edinburgh. He was a physician and surgeon and the son of the eminent physician George William Balfour.<sup>51</sup> Between 1887 and 1889 the couple lived at the Vicarage in Redbourne, in the Carrs region of Lincolnshire, where the stories that form the subject of this thesis were collected.<sup>52</sup>

In 1887 there occurred a notable event in Balfour's life. On 4 July, her stepfather, Albert Nicholson went to see his solicitor and had a new will written making Regina Annie Jackson, daughter of the late Henry Emly Q.C., his beneficiary. Twenty-three days later he committed suicide by shooting himself through the head at his lodgings in Lewisham.<sup>53</sup> Regina was a witness to the incident and no mention was given of his wife or daughter in the inquest. One may speculate that at this time, Christina and Albert were either estranged or divorced. It is also possible that the widow with her daughter Millicent moved to live with Balfour in Lincolnshire. They were definitely living with them in 1891 when the young couple had moved to Belford, Berwick upon Tweed, Northumberland.<sup>54</sup>

It was at this time that Balfour joined the Folklore Society and submitted the *Legends* to *Folk-Lore*.<sup>55</sup> She also continued collecting folklore but this time from published sources for the Society. The Northumberland edition of the *County Folklore Series*, which comprised "the painstaking collection made...by Mrs M C Balfour" was published in 1904.

Balfour also continued to pursue her interest in folk stories and gathered a number of tales from Northumberland and Bamborough, North Sunderland. These tales were not sent to the Folklore Society, but were included or referred to by Joseph Jacobs in his *More English Fairytales*. She also submitted two stories from her old Scottish nurse, who was in New Zealand.

---

<sup>51</sup> George was physician to His Majesty the King in Scotland

<sup>52</sup> The motivation for Balfour's collection of the tales is unclear. She was not at this time a member of the Folklore Society at the time, though in 1890 Jacobs would have been aware of her having collected the story *Coat of Clay*, which, had been published in firstly *Longman's Magazine* 15 (March 1890), pp.554-558) and then *Folk-Lore* 1 (3) September 1890, pp.305-310 and which prompted a positive comment from Burne (1890, p. 1).

<sup>53</sup> The will states that Millicent had been provided £5000 in trust by the will of William Nicholson Nicholson. Albert left an estate worth £2,231. The death certificate records that Albert shot himself through the forehead whilst "mentally deranged."

<sup>54</sup> Census returns 1891. It also appears from the BMA membership records that the Balfours spent some time in 1890 at Malvern Wells, Worcestershire.

<sup>55</sup> The minutes book File I/4 shows that at a council meeting on 27 May 1891 Miss M C Balfour was among those elected to the membership.

### 1.5.6 Living and writing in France

In 1896 Balfour saw her first novel was published.<sup>56</sup> A rambling tale of love and loss set in France, Morocco and London, it received a good review:

If *White Sand* be a first book, it is not without promise, although it is too diffuse and wants a great deal of shaping, for instance the real beginning of the story...does not take place until nearly half way through the book. About a hundred pages...should have been dismissed in a page. But the authoress shows considerable facility and some power of drawing character (*Pall Mall Gazette*, February 6 1896).

At about this time Balfour, her husband and her mother, had moved to Brittany, and she had also completed her second novel *Maris Stella*, a love story, set in a small French fishing community. She was also busy writing short pieces for publication, including a wordy, historical account, entitled *Legends of Old Saint Malo*. This piece, for *Macmillan's Magazine*, bears no comparison to the *Legends*, being a dark literary tale of an abused wife, described as “a life size sketch of rural doings”.

Balfour's mother died in 1897<sup>57</sup> the same year as her third novel *The Fall of the Sparrow* was published. This story of unrequited love and religious doubt, begins in a fictitious village in the Lincolnshire CARRS then moves to London and the North of England. A review described the book as “having been considered by competent critics as one of the notable books of last year”(Black, 1898, p. 102).

In 1898, Balfour gave birth to a daughter; <sup>58</sup> however, she also appears to have continued with her career by translating a book on the 'Reign of Terror.' In 1899, after the death of R L Stevenson,<sup>59</sup> she and her husband, co-authored a reminiscence piece for the *English Illustrated Magazine*.

### 1.5.7 Back to Edinburgh and the death of her Husband

By 1901 Balfour was back in Edinburgh, living with her husband, daughter and stepsister. At this time she was editing the letters from R L Stevenson's mother to Jane Whyte Balfour (both her aunts) for publication and writing an essay to be included as an appendix in *Omoo* by Herman Melville. In April 1907, her husband died after an 18 month long battle with consumption of the throat. The following year, Balfour was

<sup>56</sup> Appendix 5 contains a list of Balfour's published work.

<sup>57</sup> The grave of J M Balfour in New Zealand includes the date of Christina Simson's death at Saint Servan, France on 30 April 1897.

<sup>58</sup> Marie Margaret Melville Balfour was born on 31 January 1898 at St Servan (French records).

<sup>59</sup> Stevenson had left England in 1887.



found in London;<sup>60</sup> however, the census return for 1911 reveal that the she, her stepsister and daughter still resided in Edinburgh.

*The Stage Yearbook* for the years 1913 and 1915 indicate that by this time Balfour may have been living in London, where she was listed as the writer of four short plays which were performed in 1912 and 1914.<sup>61</sup> A review described Miss Margot Balfour's "manner of utterance" as "artificial" and "Miss Nicholson's pathetic foreign character performance [as] the only notable feature" in the final item.<sup>62</sup>

Four years later, Balfour and her stepsister 'Claude' Nicholson were living in North London, and three years later they had moved to Bath. Balfour's daughter was also, by this time a published writer of articles and novels, and also a writer for BBC radio and this may have inspired her to submit a number of short stories (again set in France) to the *New Blackfriars Magazine*<sup>63</sup> these stories are also low on dialogue, and bear no resemblance to the *Legends*.

### 1.5.8 The End of the Family Line

Marie Clothilde Balfour died suddenly of heart failure in 1931.<sup>64</sup> Her daughter continued to live in the family home with her Aunt Claude until she, herself died of cancer, in 1940.<sup>65</sup> Her aunt stayed in Bath where she died of "senility", in 1966 at the age of 89. Marie named her daughter as her beneficiary and, referring to the family heirlooms, expressed the wish that "the more important Balfour things should go back to the family."<sup>66</sup> Neither Millicent Claudine, nor Marie Melville had any issue, and so there are no descendants to consult with regards to searches for surviving letters, papers and photographs concerning the family.<sup>67</sup>

---

<sup>60</sup> In July 1908 her daughter took part in the British Empire Shakespeare Society Annual Elocution Competition at the Playhouse in London – *The Stage* July 23, 1908, p.20.

<sup>61</sup> *The Stage Yearbooks* for 1913 & 1915.

<sup>62</sup> *The Stage* February 12 1914, page 5. Margot is likely to be Marie's daughter – Marie Melville Balfour, then aged 17.

<sup>63</sup> 11 stories were submitted between 1929 and 1931. See Appendix 5.

<sup>64</sup> In a nursing home at Clevedon, Somerset.

<sup>65</sup> In her will she requested that her aunt present a number of artworks of the Simson family to the National Gallery of Scotland.

<sup>66</sup> With the exception of Lewis Balfour's diary, this seems to have been interpreted as objects rather than documents.

<sup>67</sup> Searches of the Stevenson and other Balfour archive catalogues have been carried out.

## 1.6 THE FOLKLORE SOCIETY AND PUBLICATION OF THE LEGENDS

“*Folk-Lore* for June (David Nutt) is a particularly interesting number. Miss M.C. Balfour opens it with three Legends of the Lincolnshire Cars...These are told in a dialect such as Mr. Edward Peacock has made a study of for the Dialect Society, but which differs a good deal from Tennyson's dialect in *The Northern Farmer*<sup>68</sup> and we can well believe that they have been taken down faithfully. Like most genuine English stories, they are emphatically of a grim purport.” *The Academy* June 1891.

### 1.6.1 The Folklore Society in 1891

The Folklore Society Proceedings of the Council 1891 listed the Officers for the coming year as follows: President: Andrew Lang; Vice-Presidents: Edward B. Tylor, Sir John Lubbock, Lt-Gen Pitt-Rivers; Director: G L Gomme; Honorary. Treasurer: Edward Clodd; Honorary Secretary: J. J. Foster. At this time the members of the Council included Joseph Jacobs, Miss C.S. Burne, Miss Roalfe Cox, Alfred Nutt, J. G. Frazer and Professor A. C. Haddon. The proceedings also noted that the membership roll totalled 379, each of which would have paid a subscription in return for receiving the journal and the opportunity to attend the varied meetings, and read the publications. Balfour was elected as a new member of the Folklore Society in May 1891 shortly before publication of the *Legends*. In the following month the review of the *Legends* noted at the top of this section, appeared in *The Academy*.<sup>69</sup>

### 1.6.2 Feedback Immediately after Publication

Despite the fact that Balfour tried, within the introduction to the third part of the *Legends* to stimulate debate within *Folk-Lore* regarding “cutting off the feet and hands of a dead body” in folktales (p. 428) there was no response to her request for “someone learned in the subject...[to]...explain it”. However the *Legends*, were described as “admirably transcribed and most interesting” by folklorist John S Stuart-Glennie (1892, p. 298)<sup>70</sup> who went on to criticise Balfour’s use of the term ‘ghost’ in the title of ‘*Sam'l's Ghost*’ as “perverse.”<sup>71</sup> In a later edition, Balfour addressed this criticism, and

<sup>68</sup> An extract from this poem is included in Appendix 15.

<sup>69</sup> *The Academy* 39 (999), June 27 1891, London: John Murray p. 610.

<sup>70</sup> Stuart-Glennie was a well-travelled writer and collector of folklore, who wrote a number of books on his research and radical views (Dorson, 1968b, pp. 514-549; Geddes, 1910, p. 318). As a member of the Folklore Society, he regularly contributed papers to meetings and to *Folklore* between 1886 and 1897 (Dorson, 1968b, pp. 514-549).

<sup>71</sup> Balfour had stated in the Introduction to Part III that she had called the third tale *Sam'l's Ghost*, though somewhat incorrectly, as the latter is not a Lincolnshire word” (p. 403).

apologised for the use of the term (Balfour, 1893, pp. 107-108).

A Lincolnshire clergyman also acknowledged Balfour's work and quoted from her introduction and from *Tiddy Mun* within his own research into the *Legend of Byard's Leap* (Walter, 1891, pp. 99-100). **James Conway Walter (1831-1913)**, was born in Langton near Horncastle and became vicar of St. Andrews, Langton (Woodhall Spa) and Kirkstead, Lincolnshire in 1869. After twenty-one years he relinquished the latter position and became rector at Langton. During his career he wrote a number of books on Lincolnshire history and contributed various items on folklore to Mabel Peacock.<sup>72</sup>

Despite Walter's apparent acceptance of the *Legends*, there was no recorded criticism or comment from the two members of the Folklore Society, who were living in Lincolnshire in 1889.<sup>73</sup> One of these, Edward Peacock, will be considered below, and the other, Mrs Pocklington-Coltman of Hagnaby Priory, Spilsby, aside from being a regular subscriber to folklore publications does not seem to have been a folklore collector.

**Edward Peacock (1831-1915)** was a wealthy landowner and a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, who lived in North Lincolnshire and became a member of the Folklore Society in July 1878.<sup>74</sup> A year later he was listed in *The Folk-Lore Record* as preparing *The Folklore of Lincolnshire* for the Society. He was still engaged in this task in 1883<sup>75</sup> at a time when he was regularly contributing to *Folk-Lore* on the many subjects, particularly for the *Notes and Queries* section.<sup>76</sup>

In 1885, E. Peacock was elected to the council of the Folklore Society,<sup>77</sup> a post he kept for 3 years. In the year 1888/9 he was no longer on the Council but still a member. 1891 and 1892 (at the time when the Balfour stories were published) no items from him were printed, probably due to the pressure of moving to Kirton in Lindsey. In December 1892 and November 1893, he read short papers at meetings of the Folklore Society.<sup>78</sup> Also during this time E. Peacock was researching the Lincolnshire dialect and was a

<sup>72</sup> Peacock 1901, p. 176.

<sup>73</sup> 1889 Proceedings of the Folklore Society.

<sup>74</sup> He was elected as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries at the unusually early age of twenty-five in 1857 (Elder, 1989, pp. 70-72). He lived at Bottesford Manor House which is situated on the outskirts of modern Scunthorpe about 7 miles as the crow flies from Redbourne.

<sup>75</sup> Folklore Society Annual Meeting and reports 1883-88 File I/3.

<sup>76</sup> Between 1883 and 1889 he contributed at least 14 separate items.

<sup>77</sup> Minutes of 28th October 1885. Folklore Society archives File I/2.

<sup>78</sup> Minutes of the Evening Meetings of the Folklore Society December 21 1892 and November 15 1893 include papers by Mr E Peacock.

regular contributor to the *North Lincolnshire Star*. A search of this publication, Peacock's diary,<sup>79</sup> and other family archive material failed to reveal any comments on the work of Balfour.

**Mabel Peacock (1856-1920)** followed on from the work of her father in submitting papers and notes to Folklore between 1887 and 1917, quite a number of which were based on Lincolnshire folklore.<sup>80</sup> She published three collections of stories and verse,<sup>81</sup> and in 1902 she commenced correspondence with the Folklore Society on the subject of taking over from her father in the collection of Lincolnshire Folklore from printed sources.<sup>82</sup> This work, which was carried out with Mrs Gutch, was completed and published in 1908. M. Peacock did not collect folklore in the field, indeed a neighbour is recorded as saying that she rarely left her house<sup>83</sup> but gleaned information from friends and acquaintances. She, like her father made no comments on Balfour's research.

M. Peacock encouraged **Ethel Rudkin (1893-1985)**, as did Dr. Margaret Murray, the latter of whom, wrote the introduction to Rudkin's book *Lincolnshire Folklore* which was published at her own expense in 1936<sup>84</sup> (Brown, 1986, p. 222). The preface to the book stated that everything in it was "authentic and collected between World War One and Two from people not books". Whilst this publication did not mention any of the work of Balfour, in October 1954 Rudkin read a paper before the Folklore Society which quoted extensively from the *Legends* and acknowledged her indebtedness "to Miss Balfour who wrote them down in 1890 and to the Folk-Lore Society for publishing them" (1954, p. 396). However she described the dialogue as "shocking," a word that would later be used to fuel doubts about the authenticity of the *Legends*.<sup>85</sup>

Along with the Peacocks there were a couple of clergymen collecting folklore within Lincolnshire in the later nineteenth century.<sup>86</sup> **Robert Heanley (1848-1915)**, the eldest

<sup>79</sup> E. Peacock kept a dairy from 1884 and continued submitting short items to *Folk-Lore* until 1908.

<sup>80</sup> This included the rather misleadingly titled 'Notes on Professor J. Rhys's *Manx Folk-Lore and Superstitions*', by M. Peacock in *Folk-Lore* 1891.

<sup>81</sup> *Tales and Rhymes in Lindsey Folk-Speech* (1886), *Tales fra Linkisheere* (1889b) and *Lincolnshire Tales – the recollections of Eli Twigg* (1897c).

<sup>82</sup> Folklore Society Council Minutes File 1/10 Folklore Society Archives.

<sup>83</sup> NACTEL audiotapes sound recordings interviews by J Widdowson in Kirton Lindsey May 1969.

<sup>84</sup> Ethel Rudkin joined the Folklore Society in 1931.

<sup>85</sup> This will be explored in 4.2 and the dialect in 3.5.

<sup>86</sup> One clergyman was Rev. W. P. Swaby who contributed an article on 'Superstitious Belief and Customs of Lincolnshire to Andrews (1891). He was born in Tetney near Holton-le-Cley the son of a washerwoman but managed to become a clergyman and later a colonial Bishop in Guyana and Barbados.

son of a wealthy farmer, was born in Croft in the south east of the county. He entered the church in 1875 and became assistant curate at Burgh-le-Marsh before becoming rector of Wainfleet All Saints and perpetual curate of Wainfleet St Thomas until 1889.<sup>87</sup> His parishes were close to the place of his birth and he drew on this and boyhood memories to produce pieces on Marshland folklore for *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries* (1891), for *Folk-Lore*<sup>88</sup> (1898) and for an article on *The Vikings: Traces of their Folklore in Marshland* for the *Saga Book of the Viking Club* (1903).<sup>89</sup> None of his publications mention Balfour or the *Legends*, though as will be explored later, some of the content of his writing refers to similar folk customs.

**James Penny** (1855-1944), who was born in Crewkerne, Somerset, where his father was headmaster of the Grammar School,<sup>90</sup> became vicar of Stixwold, a village near Horncastle in 1888. Seven years later he moved five miles to become vicar of Wispington until 1914. He spent his later years, suffering from blindness, at Woodhall Spa, also in the Horncastle area. He produced two collections of folklore from around the locality which also include popular memories and incidents from his own experience as a parish clergyman (Obelkevich, 1976, p. 335). He did not contribute to *Folk-Lore* and did not include mention of Balfour's work in his writings.

### **1.6.3 Balfour's relationship with the Folklore Society in the years following publication**

Jacobs, as editor of *Folk-Lore* at the time, was responsible for the inclusion of the *Legends* and particularly for the inclusion of notes with Part III. It is likely that he was also behind the sending of the information that led to the review in *The Academy*, as outlined above. In the introduction to his *More English Fairy Tales*, Jacobs noted that 'the tales reported by Mrs Balfour, with a thorough knowledge of the peasants' mind and mode of speech, are a veritable acquisition' (1894, p. xi). He included *Yallery Brown*, *The Buried Moon*<sup>91</sup> and *A Pottle o' Brains* in the collection as well as a few other stories from Balfour. Other comments from this publication will be noted below.

After the publication of the *Legends*, Balfour, having moved to Northumberland, commenced the collecting of folklore from printed sources for the Folklore Society. At

<sup>87</sup> Crockford's Clerical Directory and Obelkevich, 1976, p. 334.

<sup>88</sup> Heanley contributed three other articles to *Folk-Lore*.

<sup>89</sup> By this time he had become vicar of Weyhill near Andover, Hants.

<sup>90</sup> Information from Ancestry.com.

<sup>91</sup> An adaptation of *The Dead Moon*.

this time she was still gathering the stories of local people and sent some local tales to Jacobs.

The minutes of January 1893<sup>92</sup> record that

Miss Balfour wrote asking for the council's advice on certain points which had arisen in connection with her collection of Northumberland Folk Lore and the secretary was directed to reply that the collection sh[ould] contain references only to the Denham Tracts and that a list of proof of the variants sh[ould] be sent her which with regard to drawing the lines between History and Tradition she was to interpret her right of inclusion liberally.

It is not clear what the Society meant by the 'lines between History and Tradition' but they wanted to ensure that the Northumberland collection did not include material in the recently published *The Denham Tracts* (1892), and *Notes on the folklore of the Northern Counties* (1879). Balfour continued with her task and submitted her manuscript to the Folklore Society in late 1896. The following January, the Society minutes confirm that *Northumberland Folklore* was being read for the press subject to being revised, and extracts from the *Denham Tracts* and from Henderson were being struck out by Miss Burne.<sup>93</sup>

By May 1897 Burne had gone through Balfour's folklore manuscript and had ascertained that Balfour was quite willing that the manuscript should be dealt with as the publication committee might think fit<sup>94</sup> The minutes show that it was not until 1904 that the publication was ready for printing. Balfour had sent her resignation from the Society to the meeting in February 1902.<sup>95</sup>

When *Examples of printed Folk-lore concerning Northumberland* (1904) was finally released to the public, it stated that it "is the result of the painstaking collection made some years ago by Mrs M C Balfour, formerly of Belford, Northumberland, which has now been revised and edited by N W Thomas."

In 1965, the folklore scholar Richard Dorson wrote an introduction to the book *Folktales of England* (Briggs & Tongue, 1965). Within this text he outlined the history of folktale collecting within England and described the *Legends*<sup>96</sup> as "hidden treasures" (Briggs & Tongue 1965, p. xviii). At this time Dorson was in Cambridge when

---

<sup>92</sup> 17 January 17 1893.

<sup>93</sup> Minutes 21 January 1897. The Denham Tracts were edited by Hardy (1892).

<sup>94</sup> The Folklore Society publications committee minutes 20 May 1897.

<sup>95</sup> Minutes of meeting 26 February 1902, *Folklore* 13 (2), June 1902 p. 113.

<sup>96</sup> Though Dorson mistakenly described Balfour as "an aunt by marriage of Robert Louis Stevenson."

Professor Edward M. Wilson, long time member and former secretary of the Folklore Society, introduced him to Mr F. J. Norton, librarian of the Foreign Books Department of the University Library. Norton had some years earlier compiled a series of abstracts of English folktales from nineteenth century periodicals, which he had identified by type and motif numbers. Dorson immediately put Katharine Briggs, who was at the time compiling her dictionary of British folktales, in touch with Norton,<sup>97</sup> who donated his six hand-written folders to the project. Within these *F J Norton Manuscripts Notes*, which now reside in the archives of the Folklore Society,<sup>98</sup> can be found note number 331 *The spirit in the bottle; Yallery Brown* which reads as follows:

One of Mrs M C Balfour Legends...presents a parallel to the first part of 331. Unfortunately there seems to be reason for doubting the authenticity of all these Lincolnshire tales. They are certainly curiously remote in spirit and substance from any body of folk stories English or European.

This curious entry, gives no indication of the reasons as to why the doubts had spread to all of the *Legends*.

#### **1.6.4 Gomme & Burne and the *Handbook of Folklore***

In 1890, Gomme had produced a guide to encourage the collection of folklore material. This handbook was edited by Burne, two decades later. Within both editions advice was given on the people most suited to collecting folklore, and the members of the community that were likely to make the best respondents (Freeman, 2005, p. 6). Gomme's<sup>99</sup> comment that "The rustic differed only in degree from the savage" may have led to the recommendation that the collection of folklore should not be from the "lowest classes" who carried out the old traditions and held the beliefs, as they might deny their superstitious practices (Freeman, 2003, p. 5). Members of the local elites such as parish clerks, lawyers, doctors, and gentlemen farmers were seen as much more likely to be open and informative. It was widely recognised that the parson was the most reliable informant; however, Burne preferred the schoolmaster, a sentiment recognised by Rider Haggard who observed that "all the youth of the village...[pass] through his hands" (Freeman, 2005, p. 4). Jessopp theorised that parsons were unlikely to be "made party to all the occultism and superstition that survived" (1887, p. 52);

<sup>97</sup> Norton had been a member of the Folklore Society Council in the 1940s and contributed a review and two other items to *Folklore*. In 1948 he had given a talk to the Society on Popular Riddles.

<sup>98</sup> Norton Manuscripts Notes. Folklore Society archives, Red Folder in box 4/4.

<sup>99</sup> Freeman (2005, p. 5) noted Gomme's repeated juxtaposition of 'civilised' and 'savage', as being one of many judgemental statements that must have had an effect on other folklore collectors.

however, this was disproved by Atkinson who was able to enter into the confidence of his parishioners (Atkinson, 1891, pp. 27-28, 58-61; Freeman, 2003, p. 6). Burne advised that the collector should

...enter into friendly relations with the folk. Anything in the way of condescension, patronage, or implied superiority will be a fatal barrier to success... A kindly, simple, genial manner, much patience in listening, and quick perception of, and compliance with, the local rules of etiquette and courtesy are needful; and the inquirer must be as careful to do nothing that could be resented as an impertinence or a liberty as he would be in the company of friends... He must adopt a sympathetic attitude, and show an interest in the people themselves and their concerns generally, not merely in the information he wishes to get from them. He should avoid any appearance of undue curiosity, should encourage them to talk, and should listen rather than ask questions. Incredulity and amusement must be concealed at all costs (Burne, 1914, p. 6).

It should also be noted that these collectors were encouraged to gather just the narrative plots and beliefs, and ignore the thoughts and attitudes of the folk (Harris, 2008, p. 16).

### 1.6.5 Jacobs, Nutt, Balfour and the *Legends*

As mentioned earlier, Balfour sent a number of Lincolnshire and other tales to Jacobs for inclusion in his (1894) *More English Fairy Tales*.<sup>100</sup> In the preface to this book, Jacobs outlined his faith in Balfour as a reliable collector.<sup>101</sup>

In compiling the present collection... I have been specially fortunate in obtaining access to tales entirely new<sup>102</sup> and exceptionally well told, which have been either published during the past three years or have been kindly placed at my disposal by folk-lore friends. Among these, the tales reported by Mrs Balfour...are a veritable acquisition. I only regret that I have had to tone down so much of dialect in her versions. She has added to my indebtedness to her by sending me several tales which are entirely new and unedited...(Jacobs, 1894, p. xi).

Jacobs stated that he was dubious about the authenticity of *Yallery Brown*,<sup>103</sup> but dismissed his doubts because of the verse and its 'folkish ring' adding his opinion that the teller was probably "adapting a local legend to his own circumstances"(1894, p. 192). Of the *Buried Moon* story, which Jacobs abridged by removing some of the darker references and editing the dialect,<sup>104</sup> he noted Balfour's comment that "the girl's own

<sup>100</sup> The *Legends* included were *Yallery Brown* (No. 49), *The Buried Moon* (No. 66), *Pottle of Brains* (No. 70). Nutt worked with Jacobs on this book and was also the publisher.

<sup>101</sup> Freeman (2003, p. 62) stressed the need for folklore collectors to "emphasise their personal credentials as authorities on the rural population, in order to convince their readers".

<sup>102</sup> Given the nature of the book as being a collection of traditional tales I believe that this phrase "entirely new," which is used twice within the paragraph, refers to the uniqueness of the tales.

<sup>103</sup> Silver (2004, p. 106) noted that Jacobs, by altering the thick Lincolnshire dialect of *Yallery Brown*, into "proper English grammar and syntax" had virtually rewritten the tale.

<sup>104</sup> See Appendix 13.



weird imagination had much to do with framing the details”(1894, p. 200).

Of the stories collected elsewhere by Balfour, and sent to Jacobs, he made the following comments:

*My Own Self* (No.47): “Told to Mrs Balfour by Mrs W., a native of North Sunderland, who had seen the cottage and heard the tale from persons who had known the widow and her boy, and had got the story direct from them”. This tale was also found in a number of publications and Jacobs noted that it was “widely spread in the North Country”(1894, p. 191).

*The Hedley Kow* (No.53) “Told to Mrs Balfour by Mrs M. of S. Northumberland. Mrs M.'s mother told the tale as having happened to a person she had known when young: she had herself seen the Hedley Kow twice, once as a donkey and once as a wisp of straw. 'Kow' must not be confounded with the more prosaic animal with a 'C.'” Jacobs noted that this tale had been referred to by Henderson in 1866<sup>105</sup> (1894, p. 194).

*Tattercoats*<sup>106</sup> (No.56) “Told to Mrs Balfour by a little girl named Sally Brown, when she lived in the Cars in Lincolnshire. Sally had got it from her mother, who worked for Mrs Balfour. It was originally told in dialect, which Mrs Balfour has omitted” (1894, p. 196).

*Coat o' Clay*<sup>107</sup> (No.59) “Contributed by Mrs Balfour originally to *Longman's Magazine*, and thence to *Folk-Lore*, Sept. 1890...Mrs Balfour's telling redeems it from the usual dullness of folk-tales with a moral or a double meaning” (1894, p. 197).

*The Stars in the Sky* (No.76) “Mrs Balfour's old nurse, now in New Zealand. The original is in broad Scots, which I have anglicised.” Jacobs noted that “The 'sell' at the end is scarcely after the manner of the folk, and various touches throughout indicate a transmission through minds tainted with culture and introspection”<sup>108</sup>(Jacobs 1894, p.208).

---

<sup>105</sup> Henderson (1866, p.235). His notes were also referred to when the story had been included in Hartland (1890, p. 180). Balfour had consulted Henderson whilst researching folklore and so would have been aware of this source of the tales. Briggs has also included this version of the tale in her *Dictionary* (1969a, pp. 310-312) along with the Henderson version (1969b, p. 29).

<sup>106</sup> As this tale was collected by Balfour in Lincolnshire, I have carried out a search to locate the potential teller within a later part of this thesis (Section 3.6)

<sup>107</sup> The inclusion of this story within *Longman's Magazine* indicates that it was also endorsed by Lang who was one of the editors.

<sup>108</sup> This comment is a reflection on the likelihood of the nurse being literate.

*The Wee, Wee Mannie* (No.80) "From Mrs Balfour's old nurse. I have again anglicised. This is one of the class of accumulative stories like *The Old Woman and her Pig* (No. 4). The class is well represented in these isles"(1894, p. 208).

Balfour mentioned in the notes to the *Legends*, that she had heard Lincolnshire versions of *Jack the Giant-Killer* and *Beauty and the Beast* and a possible fragment of *Cinderella* (pp. 402-403).<sup>109</sup>

It appears that Balfour kept up a good relationship with Jacobs and Nutt.<sup>110</sup> In 1896 her second fictional novel included an acknowledgement to Nutt and Jacobs:

If I venture to set your names in front of this little book, it is not because I put upon it an exaggerated value, but that I am glad to take the opportunity of expressing something of the gratitude I feel for the much that I owe you. I could wish, in all modesty, that this little volume might give you pleasure; that I could thus make some inadequate return for the kindness and encouragement which, believe me, I have known how to appreciate (Balfour 1896).

However, despite the fact that Jacobs was president of the Folklore Society we cannot use the inclusion of the stories within his '*Fairy Tale*' collection as an endorsement of their authenticity as he is recorded as having said that he was pursuing an agenda of:

...filling our children's imaginations with bright trains of images. If a story will advance that cause I have always used it whether I knew its derivation or not (Hays 1978, p.90).

### 1.6.6 The views of Katherine Briggs

Katherine Briggs joined the Folklore Society in 1927 as she wished to learn more about fairy belief and folklore (Davidson & Newall, 1981, p. 111). She soon realised that there was a need for a collection of English tales, and that each should be "traced back as far as possible to establish its variants and local background." She didn't just carry out research in books but also went out to meet storytellers including W H Barrett, in the Fens, Jeannie Robertson in Scotland, and Ruth Tongue in Somerset. She also recorded her interviews to preserve the evidence of tales (Davidson, 1996, p. 139, Briggs & Tongue 1965, p.xxi). Briggs also worked closely with scholars of folklore including the Institute of Dialect and Folk Life Studies at the University of Leeds and the School of Scottish Studies in Edinburgh. Similarly she kept in touch with the Peter

---

<sup>109</sup> As noted above, she mentioned that "cutting off the feet and hands of a dead body" often occurs in folk-tales and tried to start a debate on this subject.

<sup>110</sup> Jacobs (1898, p. 256) also included mention of Balfour and comments from her in his revised 3<sup>rd</sup> edition of *English Fairy Tales*.

and Iona Opie, who were researching the folklore of schoolchildren, and Theo Brown who was collecting material in the West Country (Davidson, 1996, p. 140-141)

In 1969 Briggs produced the comprehensive *Dictionary of British folk-tales in the English language: incorporating the F. J. Norton collection*. This work earned Briggs a Ph.D. from Oxford University and included condensed or modified versions of most of the *Legends* within it. In Winter 1972, *Folklore* contained an article on *Possible Mythological Motifs in English Folktales*. This piece included reference to *The Green Mist* (1972, p. 269).

Four years later Briggs included a large number of mentions of Balfour, with comments on the debate over the authenticity of the stories, in a *Dictionary of Fairies*, as follows:

*Bogles*: “it is a little doubtful if the word is true Lincolnshire or was imported by her”<sup>111</sup>(Briggs, 1976, p. 33).

*The Dead Moon*: “This is one of a group of stories so unusual that some folklorists have doubted their genuineness. Mrs Balfour, however, published the notes which she took at the time, which established the general accuracy of the tales, though an occasional Scottish word may have strayed in, and there is no doubt from subsequent collection that the Fen area was a unique confine of legends and traditions” (1976, p. 91).

*The Green Mist*: “Mrs Balfour, in her collection of unusual stories from Lincolnshire...gives us a striking variant of the separable soul theme...”(1976, p. 201)

*Greencoaties*: “Euphemistic names for the fairies”(1976, p. 204).

*The Strangers*: “Mrs Balfour recorded many savage and primitive beliefs and practices. She preserved the notes she took down as she listened to the stories, and several times claimed to have reproduced the very words in which they were told. The uniqueness of her collection...has tempted some folklorists to disbelieve her report, but this is a heavy charge to bring, and the macabre temper of many of the stories in W H Barrett’s ‘Tales from the Fens’, though different in subject matter, shows a suggestive similarity of mood and background”<sup>112</sup> (1976, p. 383).

---

<sup>111</sup> 'Bogles' was a general term for a ghost or apparition (See Appendix 2).

<sup>112</sup> Philip (1992, p. xxix) dismissed this comparison, stating that Barrett's stories “are down-to-earth local historical traditions with no...echo of the macabre and violent stories recorded in the

*Tiddy Mun*: “The tale is too long to be reproduced here, but anyone who wants to read it in its entirety – and it is worth reading – must look up the article...in *Folklore*”(1976, p. 395).

*Tod-lowery*: “Tod-loweries are mentioned among the bog spirits in Mrs Balfour's story, *The Dead Moon*” (1976, p. 401).

*Will o' the Wykes*: “It is to be found in Mrs Balfour's *The Dead Moon*”(1976, p. 438).

*Yallery Brown*: “His story is told in Mrs Balfour's article...and he must have been one of the *Yarthkins* or *Strangers* of the Fen Country”(1976, p. 446).

*Yarthkins*: “According to Mrs Balfour in her article...this was one name of the fertility spirits of the Lincolnshire Fen Country...”(1976, p. 447).

However, Briggs has been criticised for her failure to arrange and index the tales in her *Dictionary* in a convenient way, her lack of “scholarly investigation of the material” and of putting “the instincts of the storyteller” above those of the scholar. She also did not attempt to tackle the problem of “the relationship between folk belief, memories, local or migratory legends and folktales proper” (Davidson,1996.p. 153). This thesis, however, is not the place to delve further into these criticisms, though it needs to be stated that the change in attitude to the authenticity of the *Legends* does seem to have been built on the comments she made and the fact that she failed to address Norton's statement.

## **1.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS**

Within this chapter I have provided an introduction to the *Legends*, the collector and the Folklore Society. In section 1.2, I have shown that the main criteria for a story being a 'legend' are that it contains some historical ingredients that give it a degree of believability, and as such is believed. In section 1.3 I have provided a summary of each of the *Legends* and have shown that whilst the stories included in Parts I and II, with the exception of *A Pottle o' Brains*, do actually fit the description of 'legends', the tales in the final part do not.

Within section 1.4 I have outlined the influences that led to the foundation of the Folklore Society from the research of the early antiquarians and the collection of stories

---

Lincolnshire Fens...by...Balfour.”

by the Grimms. I have shown that whilst the members of the Folklore Society Council were not necessarily united on all matters, they shared a common belief that society progressed in a linear way from the savage, to the peasant, to the civilised. They also preferred armchair scholarship, and though they did make efforts to encourage some of their membership to go out 'into the field,' to collect the remnants of the dying traditions, beliefs and folk stories, they were more keen on collating the entries from journals and newspapers.

At the time when the *Legends* were collected, the Folklore Society were encouraging, and giving advice on the collecting, ideally in dialect, and publishing of folktales. They were also making attempts to use scientific methods to categorise the tales; however, alongside this they appeared divided on the amount of editing that should take place to prepare such stories for publication. The popularity of the Fairies and an increasing interest in Vikings also came to the fore at the time. This section also provided a base for investigation into the likely motivations of Balfour and the reactions of the Folklore Society to the *Legends* when they were submitted by Balfour, as a new member of the Society, in 1891.

Section 1.5 gave an account of the life of Balfour from her early years in New Zealand, in which her father tragically died, her childhood in Edinburgh with her mother's artist family (where she also spent some time in the company of her cousin R L Stevenson), her adulthood in which she married her cousin J C Balfour, her time collecting the *Legends* and then her move to Northumberland where she recorded folklore from printed sources. Alongside this I have relayed some of the family stories that surrounded Balfour, and which she seems not to have used as inspiration for her writing. I have recounted how Balfour moved to France, and noted that this time in Brittany had such an effect on Balfour that it formed a key part of her later writing both in novels and short stories. Finally I have explained the reason why virtually nothing has survived of Balfour's family or working life.

The reaction of the Folklore Society to the publication of the *Legends*, and Balfour's relationship with the Society, was explored in section 1.6. Initially supportive and encouraging, the Council seem to have discouraged Balfour from collecting stories direct from the people, after the *Legends* were published. The *Legends* appear to have been accepted by the Lincolnshire clergyman, J Conway Walter, but whilst there was no

reaction from other Lincolnshire folklorists, the folkloric content of the *Legends* was later to be accepted by Rudkin. With regards to the reactions of Jacobs, as editor of Folk-Lore he was responsible for their inclusion within the journal, and he also included three of the *Legends* within his *More English Fairy Tales*. He expressed some initial doubts about *Yallery Brown* but dismissed these and also included Balfour's comment that *The Buried Moon* had been influenced by the tellers imagination. Regarding the stories from elsewhere, Jacobs noted that three tales had recognisable parallels, the *Coat of Clay* had a different ending than would be expected, and *The Stars in the Sky* had been influenced by "culture and introspection."

In the 1960s Dorson wrote favourably of the *Legends*; however, Norton was not convinced and inserted a note within his Manuscripts to express his doubts without giving any supporting evidence. Briggs later included many of the *Legends* within her *Dictionaries*, though she added to the distrust of the authenticity of the *Legends* by criticising the use of the term 'Bogles', which was used in Lincolnshire; by noting and then dismissing doubt over the genuineness of *The Dead Moon* and *The Strangers' Share*; and by commenting on the "unusual" quality of *The Green Mist*. She did however, recommend *Tiddy Mun* as worth reading! Briggs' comments, and the note by Norton have been influential as regards the academic attitude to the *Legends*. In future sections of this thesis I will look at the reactions of those who have accepted, and built on these doubts, and also explore the context and acceptance of the *Legends* within the storytelling world and within the county of Lincolnshire and the Fens further south.

This chapter concludes with an account of my research methods.

## **1.8 MY RESEARCH METHODS**

"...nineteenth-century folklore is still being defined as the material assembled in folklore archives...Despite their sizeable collections, folklore archives only contain a small part of the sources that could be used for analysing the folklore of the nineteenth century"(Beyer, 2011, p. 37).

For this thesis I will be following the example set by the oral historian Jan Vansina. I take the view that the *Legends* are from the oral tradition<sup>113</sup> and I aim to demonstrate this within this thesis. Such oral testimonies are often seen as unreliable, and so along with seeking to analyse and validate the characteristic features, form and content of the

---

<sup>113</sup>And have consequently been passed down from one person, or one generation, to another by word of mouth using the power of memory.

*Legends*, and the introductions provided by Balfour, I will also acknowledge any inaccuracies or possible falsifications (Vansina, 1965, p. 1). For this, predominantly socio-historical investigation, I will use auxiliary materials from a variety of sources to corroborate the content as being from the county of Lincolnshire, particularly the tales that contain recognisable personal and place names which can be checked against general, local and family history sources in a similar way to the method used by Van Bulck (quoted in Vansina 1965, p. 10). However it is important to note that, even those oral texts that are regarded as historical evidence, “...merely show that the contents were in practice at the date of the documentation” (Stewart, 1977, p. 10).

An analysis of the situation in the present day, with regards to the *Legends*, will also form a key part of this thesis, with the evidence of not just storytellers but also residents of Lincolnshire being provided to support the work in print. Archaeological evidence will also be considered where appropriate (Vansina, 1965, p. 13).

Within the first Chapter of this thesis, I have provided an introduction to the *Legends* including a search for a definition of the term 'legend' and summaries of the tales; explored the situation in the Folklore Society just before and in the years following their publication and given an account of the life and influences upon Balfour, the collector of the *Legends*. I will follow Vansina's recommendations further in Chapter two, and use not just general historical sources, to examine the economic and social history, but also consult local history sources for Lincolnshire. Similarly, I will also refer to such sources to gain insight into the situation as regards the education, religion, diet and health of the population. As I have identified opium use as being a potentially important factor in the influences upon the darker content of the *Legends*, I will also carry out a socio-psychological investigation of such use and set this alongside archaeological, oral and written evidence of the finding of bog bodies within the area.

This multi-disciplinary approach will continue within chapter three where the work of folklorists and narratologists will be drawn upon as aids to investigating the narrative structures and the methods that may have been used by Balfour to collect and record the *Legends*. As mentioned above, historical approaches will then be taken to seek matches for the personal and place names to the area around Redbourne alongside a search for parallels to the *Legends* within other collections and within the national, and international type and motif indexes. This will be followed by a systematic comparison

between the many collections of folk belief and the examples contained within the tales. A similar investigation will be carried out using nineteenth century Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire glossaries to affirm the validity of the dialect used within the *Legends*. The chapter will also include a morphological and structural analysis of the structure, style and form of the tales, alongside use of Laurence Anthony's *AntConc* computer programme to carry out a literary stylistic analysis of the content of the *Legends*, in order to establish similarities and differences between the narratives. This will acknowledge the link between folklore and cultural anthropology and will aim to show first that the *Legends* were set in the flat marsh, bog or fen, when folkloric belief was widespread and secondly that the stories were gathered in the North Lincolnshire Carrs and contain words, phrases and motifs common to these areas. Having established that the *Legends* are from the area in which they were collected I will use a genealogical approach to examine the archival records for the village and scant clues within the texts to find potential tellers of some of the tales.

The final arguments within this thesis will take the form of an examination of the cultural and artistic uses of the *Legends*, and the influences their content has had on the creative practitioners over the last few decades. The opinions of folklorists, historians, storytellers within the revival movement, and other interested parties, will then be sought to provide evidence of acceptance, dismissal or impartiality to the question of the authenticity of the *Legends* as being from the oral tradition and fitting with the superorganic model as noted by Holbek, in as much as they were bound to be produced in the landscape due to the nature and minds of the people (1987, p. 24). Similar cases will also be sought and conclusions will be drawn using each of these and also a consideration of Balfour's potential motives for submitting the *Legends* to *Folk-Lore*.



## 2 THE *LEGENDS* IN CONTEXT – NORTH LINCOLNSHIRE THEN AND NOW

“In the parts of Lindsey, there are no fens, their place being taken by the Carrs, which were once wide swamps, bordering the course of a small stream or river. These have been drained, and I do not think that any now exist in their old barren condition, so great is the change that has taken place during the last half century. Drained carrs like these lie along the wide shallow valley of the Ancholme, between the parallel ranges of the Wolds and the Cliffs...” (Balfour, 1891, p. 145-146)

### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will provide a context for the *Legends* within North Lincolnshire to show the accuracy of the descriptions within Balfour's introductions and the narratives.

Showing that the *Legends* are illustrative of the true situation will provide a firm basis for validating the stories. As this is the first time such research from various academic disciplines relating to the area, and the *Legends* in the nineteenth century, has been brought together, there is no definitive study that could be consulted. I am an historian and as such, I am not an expert in the other disciplines, but I have been impressed with the scholarly methods of each of the writers that I have included within this section.

Section 2.2.1 will explore the geography, geology, and consequent land use and settlement, within Lincolnshire with the aim of providing sufficient information to suggest a geographical context for the future sections particularly the history, archaeology and the folklore connected with the *Legends*. The main source for this section includes the websites of the county and district councils of Lincolnshire, North Lincolnshire and North East Lincolnshire. The section will conclude with a closer look at the village of Redbourne (2.2.2), where Balfour was living in the years just prior to her submission of the *Legends* to *Folk-Lore*.

The next part of this chapter (2.3) seeks to examine the accuracy of her observations on the history of the Ancholme Valley and contextualise such comments as are included within the body of the stories, such as the drainage, and the attitudes against the works, mentioned within *Tiddy Mun*, and the work of agricultural labourers in *Yallery Brown* and *Fred th' Fool*. This will be divided into six chronological parts: The Carrs before the Seventeenth Century (2.3.1); The Seventeenth Century Drainage (2.3.2); Nineteenth Century Drainage and its Effects (2.3.3); Adapting to New Methods of Farming (2.3.4);

The Growth of the Gang Labour System (2.3.5) and Competition, particularly from Abroad (2.3.6). The Section will end with a look at the village of Redbourne in the Nineteenth Century (2.3.7) followed by an attempt to answer the question: Was Redbourne an Isolated Village? (2.3.8).

A good background to the early history of the county has been written by Kevin Leahy (2010). However, the key text on Lincolnshire in the late nineteenth century, the period in which the stories were collected is by Joan Thirsk (1957) along with the works of T.W. Beastall (1978) and Jonathan Brown (2005). Thirsk's book gives a comprehensive account of the rural agricultural history of the county that is still referred to by modern historians, indicating that her far reaching analysis has not been superseded.

As regards the drainage of the Carrs and reactions to the early extensive drainage works, this is a subject area of national interest, and as such a number of historians have researched this topic. I have found the most useful to be works by Charles Brears (1927) and Ray Carey (2002), and alongside those I have consulted Keith Lindley whose *Fenland Riots and the English Revolution* dealt specifically with the use of Dutch and Scottish prisoners for carrying out the work. Lindley also explored the violent reactions of the local population to the changes in the landscape and their livelihood.

For information specific to the north of the county and to the later works, B. J. Davey (1994) can be recommended and the Civil Engineers report for confirming drainage for the River Ancholme is available online. The use of the gang labour system, particularly in the employment of young children on the newly drained lands in the nineteenth century, was investigated within the Child Employment Commission Report<sup>1</sup> (1867) and I have consulted this report along with the work of Sally Livingston (1978). The findings have also been interpreted by Charles Rawding (2001) and T. L. Richardson (1993).

By far the most significant piece of research on the effect of drainage on the Carrs is the paper written by Darwin Horn (1987), which specifically compared accounts of the wide reaching effects of drainage with the evidence included in the legend of *Tiddy Mun*. This paper is so comprehensive that little needs to be done to verify this aspect of

---

<sup>1</sup> This report will be referred to within this thesis as the CEC Report.

the content of this *Legend*. Other areas touched upon in this chapter are Immigration and Migration for which works of Rollo Arnold (1981), Sarah Barber (1982), Henry Winn (1950) and David Roberts (1963) proved useful.

Section 2.4 continues to provide a context for the *Legends* within Lincolnshire and within the village of Redbourne, focussing on Education and Religion. I will first provide a general introduction to the provision of village schools and primary education in England (2.4.1) and then examine the situation within Redbourne, including the curriculum taught (2.4.2). This will provide a structure for later analysis of the likely standards of literacy amongst the people of the village, and an exploration of their influences. Sources for this are the general history of education primary sources, particularly by the government adviser Dr Kay-Shuttleworth (1973 reprint of 1862), along with John Eddowes (1854) and Frederic Hill (1836) for Literacy. Secondary sources, including the writings of R.K. Webb (1955), H.C. Barnard (1961), Barry Reay (1991) and Richard Altick (1998) alongside various papers, the most useful being those by Thomas Laqueur (1977) and G.R. Grigg (2005). One area of education which may have had specific relevance to the *Legends* was an investigation into the songs being taught within the school. For this I consulted primary sources including William Hickson (1836), John Turner (1833), John Atkinson (1891) and Thomas Wyatt (1903) along with Bernarr Rainbow (1989) and Robert Colls (1976).

For specific details relating to education in Lincolnshire, the local historian Russell is an acknowledged expert, and for educational provision within the village of Redbourne I consulted the archives in Scunthorpe Library, the school log book in the Lincolnshire Archives and the Lincolnshire edition of the Victoria County History series. I have linked this section to the evidence within the general histories of education and investigations into areas of the curriculum such as singing, as Balfour described hearing the *Dead Moon* sung by some children (p. 149). Finally I will examine the situation regarding literacy within nineteenth century rural populations (2.4.3) and its effect on the memory and attitudes to the non-literate.

The part of this section devoted to Religion will follow a similar format, but with the general background information focussed predominantly on Lincolnshire (2.4.4). This is because the major British scholarly study on religion in the nineteenth century by James Obelkevich (1976), has concentrated on South Lindsey, Lincolnshire, an area just south

of Redbourne. The foundation, design and management of the church at Redbourne follows, along with an account of the clergy within the village, in the nineteenth century (2.4.5-6). The interaction of the clergy, church and the community will also be examined followed by a general account of the evidence for 'superstitious belief' within the county. The former will provide a basis for showing the religious influences on the villagers and the latter will provide evidence for acceptance of the 'pagan' beliefs and practices within the *Legends* (2.4.7). The section will end with a brief analysis of the effect of education and religion on superstitious belief (2.4.8).

Richard Olney (1979) provided the main source for other information on religious worship alongside the *County Census of Religious Worship* of 1851, for statistics (Ambler 1979). For general church history and religious history, the works of Brooks & Saint (1995), Bruce Coleman (1980), Hugh McLeod (1997) and for Redbourne Church, the histories written by Henry Thorold (1996) and Peter Binnall (1960-1) were consulted. As mentioned within section 1.6.2, the nineteenth century saw a number of clergymen exposing the survival of pagan practices within the rural communities including Robert Heanley who, in the 1890s submitted a number of papers to publications including *Folk-Lore* and *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries*, based on his research in the county. His beliefs were echoed by W.H. Jones (1889) also in the latter publication, and the secular Peacocks who both submitted numerous papers to various publications whilst members of the Folklore Society. Other more recent folklorists who commented on beliefs in Lincolnshire were Eliza Gutch (1901), Ethel Rudkin (1933) and Maureen Sutton (1999). Personal accounts of belief in the supernatural were found in Fred Kitchen (1940) and the effect of education on such belief noted by Walter Evans-Wentz (1911) and Gutch (1901).

Section 2.5 will be dedicated to an inspection of the evidence on the diet, health and opium use within the county as each of these would have made an impact on the life of the labouring classes who were the tellers of the *Legends*. I shall start with an exploration of the diet and the health of the rural poor (2.5.1-2), with particular reference to Lincolnshire in order to show the reasons why there was a widespread addiction to opium use to stave off hunger and alleviate pain, particularly from the ague, or marsh fever.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup>Ague was known by a variety of names reflecting the way it was contracted – marsh fever, autumnal fever, or its effects – intermittent fever, periodical fever, the quakes. It was widely believed to be caused by 'miasma' or 'effluvia' arising from the stagnant water in which fine floating particles of

The foremost paper on the diet of the rural poor of Lincolnshire, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, can be found in the Government report by Dr Edward Smith in 1864. Recent historians specialising in this aspect include John Burnett (1968), E.J.T. Collins (1975), Michael Anderson (1990), Derek Oddy (1990) and T.L. Richardson (1993) each of whom have tended to dwell on the hardships of the nineteenth century life and diet. Some of their conclusions have been criticised recently by Judith Rowbotham & Paul Clayton (2008 & 2009) who have put forward a plausible theory that rural labourers in mid-Victorian England were actually fit and healthy, though, as we shall see later, there is incontrovertible evidence of opium addiction. For research on alcohol consumption in the late nineteenth century and the temperance movement the sources used were Thomas Carlyle (1840) for the former and the informative Sheffield Hallam University web-pages that compliment Steven Earnshaw's (2000) book *The Pub in Literature: England's Altered State*.

This section (2.5.3) will also consider the medical provision within the village of Redbourne where Balfour's husband worked as general practitioner during the years 1887-1889. I will show that the requirements of such a position would have meant that the couple were obliged to welcome patients into their home. The time spent waiting for treatment could have provided the opportunity for the telling of stories.

Research on the medical profession in rural England will then be investigated using a number of sources including the works of Noel Parry (1976), R.M.S. McConaghey (1961), Douglas Guthrie (1961), William Frazer (1950), S.J. Novak (1973) and Bettina Crane (1989) along with two useful books by Anne Digby (1994 & 1999). Literary sources were also used in the form of Myron Brightfield's collection of portrayals of the medical profession in early Victorian novels (1961). This will be supplemented by Clement Bryce Gunn (1935) who had a practice for many years on the Scottish borders and was a near contemporary of J.C. Balfour.

As mentioned above, this general look at medical care will be followed by an investigation into the spread of opium use in the nineteenth century (2.5.4-5). By far the most widely published expert in this field is Virginia Berridge who has written numerous papers on the subject since the late 1970s, with the most recent being in 1999.

---

poisonous matter would be exhaled from the 'putrefying vegetable or animal substances' (Wheeler 1868). The air which was 'impregnated' with this miasma would get into the human bloodstream leading to tissue changes and the symptoms of ague which "lowers the pulse...prostrates the strength...affects the mind, and renders life miserable indeed" (Nicholls, 2000, p. 526).

I have supplemented her research with Sir John Charles (1956), Alethea Hayter (1968), Anthony Wohl (1983), Kenaz Filan (2011) and with primary sources including George Whitley (1864), Henry Hunter (1864) and William Wheeler (1868).

Within the final section (2.6) of this chapter on the context for the *Legends*, I will be exploring the evidence on the impact of opium on the imagination as this may have played some part in the creation of the darker parts of some of the tales. This will then be followed by a brief examination of the phenomenon of the finding of bog bodies within North Lincolnshire and the part such discoveries may have had on the belief that the wetlands were inhabited by submerged, ghostly creatures set on pulling unsuspecting strangers into the water.

The main sources for the first part are Hayter (1968 & 1988) and Berridge (1999), the experts on opium used extensively for the last section. Thomas De Quincey's (1862) account of his experience of opium alongside David Macht & Nellie Gessford (1938) and Tylor (1871). For the investigation into bog bodies, I have used primary sources including William Peck (1815), William Stonehouse (1839) and *The Gentleman's Magazine*, plus Anne Ross & Don Robins (1989), R.C. Turner and C.S. Briggs (1986) and Dianne Meredith (2002) alongside local historian Colin Ella (2009).

## **2.2 GEOGRAPHY OF NORTH LINCOLNSHIRE**

“Broad dykes now intersect the fertile fields, and run beside the roads, on their way to join a central canal which carries the waters of the district to the sea, the original river meandering now on one side now on the other, a mere brook of but a few feet wide, often dried up in summer” (Balfour, 1891, p. 145).

### **2.2.1 Geography, Geology and Land Use of North Lincolnshire**

20,000 years ago during the last Ice Age, the area between the Lincoln Cliff to the west and the Wolds to the east, was a glacial lake kept in by a glacier. After the ice sheet receded this developed into a marshland with peat, within which ancient fallen trees, commonly known as bog oaks have been found. As the sea level rose the valley became a tidal estuary 2km wide. The wetlands on either side of what became the River Ancholme known as the Carrs could not be cultivated until adequate methods of drainage could be devised.

Lincolnshire, in the past, was one of the largest counties in England. Predominantly

surrounded by water, including the rivers Trent to the west and Humber to the north, and with a long coastline to the east bounding what was, until World War One, known as the 'German Ocean' and with extensive Fen and Marshlands, it has consistently been heavily influenced by the water.

The position of the north of Lincolnshire on the Humber Estuary also allowed the region to take full advantage of trading opportunities with other northern European countries, with the rivers Trent, Ancholme and the Humber providing the main communication links into and out of the area.

A similar landscape developed at the now, largely reclaimed Isle of Axholme, which is now dominated by a complex network of dykes, bridges, and pumping stations. These are now found, to a lesser extent in the Ancholme Valley.

The county also has a varied geology, which has affected its development including the clays, silt and peat of the Ancholme and Trent flood plains and the Fenland of the south; the limestone that forms the Lincoln Cliff in the west; the chalk and sandstone Wolds and finally the salt and marsh to the east. The variety of different stone provided good material for building and the clays were used in the past for brick-making (near Brigg and Barton) and in the manufacture of roof materials, particularly red clay pantiles.

The archaeological remains of North Lincolnshire, as outlined by the local Council<sup>3</sup> indicate that the area has been settled since the earliest times:

- Stone implements of prehistoric hunter gatherers and the first farmers have been found in the sandy warrens around Scunthorpe.
- Romano-British and Iron Age remains can be located on the limestone cliff and the chalk wolds including a number of Roman villas.
- Ermine Street, the major Roman road (now the A15), that once allowed travel from the north gate at Lincoln (Newport Arch) in an almost straight line to Winteringham, and then across the Humber, has now been diverted around Scampton and Broughton.
- Many of the towns and villages have Anglo Saxon traces, indeed it has even

---

<sup>3</sup> North Lincolnshire Council website.

been theorised that the county was a major centre in this period (Leahy (2010)).

- The area also has a number of medieval moated sites, earthworks and ridge and furrow traces and remains post-medieval industries including quarrying, lime-burning and brick and tile making. At this time, the chalk lands of the Wolds were widely used for sheep farming, both for wool and for mutton.

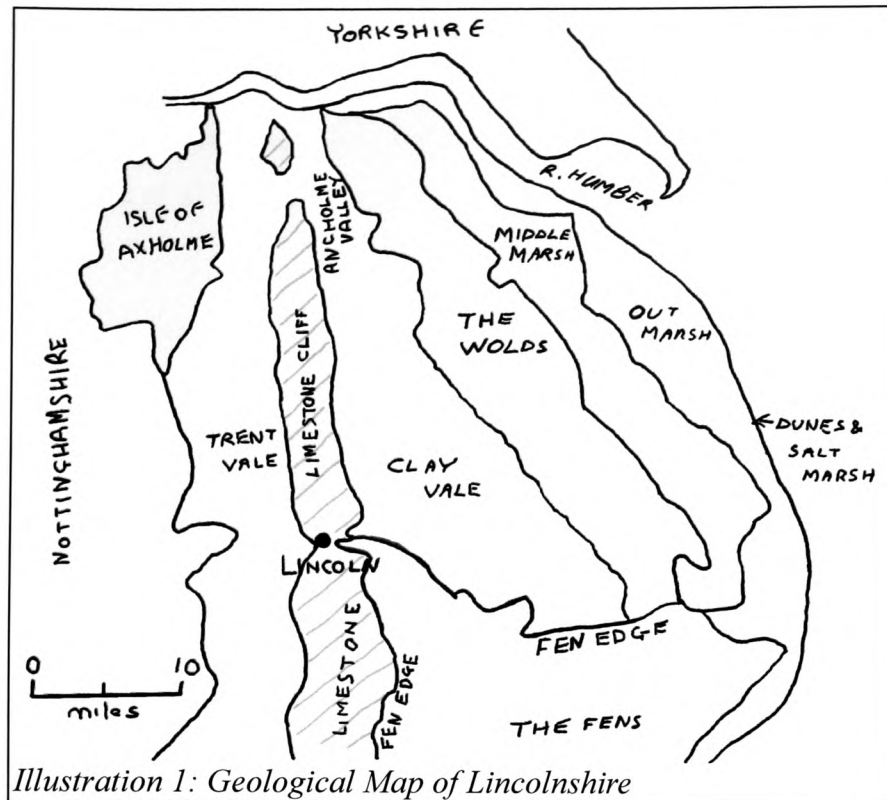
The population of North Lincolnshire is now around 161,000. Around 60% live in the major urban areas. The larger rural settlements comprise several historic market towns, namely Broughton, Crowle, Epworth, Kirton in Lindsey and Winterton. Today, 89% of the district is in some form of agricultural use, primarily determined by the physical geography of the area, with the settlements still found predominantly on the neighbouring low hills.

North Lincolnshire is still aware of the risk of flooding. The 800 square km of land that is drained through the Ancholme Valley from Bishopsbridge, Near Lincoln, to the Humber at South Ferriby is kept dry by a large number of pumps. Silting in the valley has been a constant problem, as soil is not just washed down from the ridges on either side, but also on the tides from the Humber. In the Spring of 2011, 3500 tonnes of silt were removed from the Old River Ancholme to spread on nearby farmland to alleviate the risk of the town of Brigg being subject to flooding.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> Environment Agency website





The industrial activity of North Lincolnshire is now mainly concentrated around the urban centres of Scunthorpe, Barton and Brigg, and in Killingholme on the eastern boundary. Scunthorpe is the home of the Tata Steel plant, one of the largest and most successful plants in Europe.

The area used to be served by a number of railway networks but now the main links are in the north where the North East Trans-Pennine railway connects to the East Coast Main Line at Doncaster, the east where trains travel along the coast from Barton-on-Humber to Cleethorpes and in the centre of the county with trains from Lincoln to Gainsborough and to Barnetby and a lesser line from Barnetby to Gainsborough, with trains just running on Saturdays.

### 2.2.2 The village of Redbourne

“the original Ancholme, a tiny twisted stream, being replaced, both in name and use, by a broad canal, which runs northwards for some thirty miles, as straight as an arrow, to join at last the wide Estuary of the Humber”(Balfour 1891, p. 145).

The River Ancholme today runs in two intertwining channels, the old and new rivers, the former still following its natural course, the latter almost straight. The river is two miles from the village of Redbourne, a settlement situated about six miles south west of

Brigg, 17 miles north of Lincoln, 2.5 miles east of Kirton-in-Lindsey and 10 miles south of Scunthorpe. The village used to benefit from a half-mile long cut made from the river to a mile away which enabled the transportation of coal and heavy goods. Today, the cut is now seen as more of a drainage ditch, and the river is almost exclusively used for pleasure cruising.

Redbourne lies on the road from Brigg to Lincoln, and is bypassed by the A15. The nearest railway stations are at Kirton in Lindsey and Brigg but they are on the small line linking Barnetby and Gainsborough. In the 1960s the linear layout of Redbourne was changed by the construction of a new section of road through the centre of the village which entailed the demolition of a couple of historic buildings including the old post office, but created a village green. Close to the green is a village pond (Lynam, 2004-1, p. 9).

The village is now mainly occupied by people who were not born in the village. There are no shops, the school, which closed in 1969, is now a private house, and the parish church of St Andrew, made redundant in 1978, is now maintained by the Churches Conservation Trust. There is (and was) just one public house in the village – The Red Lion Inn, a coaching Inn dating back to the seventeenth century, which is still, surprisingly, busy.

The centre of the village is unlikely to be changed now, as the Church, Old Vicarage, Manor House, the Old School, Smithy and the 18th century cottages plus some of the 19<sup>th</sup> century farm houses are on the list of Buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest. Similarly Redbourne Hall has a listed gateway and Lodge and is surrounded by an 18th century English picturesque park with open grazed grassland, mature sparsely spaced trees and woodland. The Hall is now the address for a number of businesses including a video production company.

## **2.3 ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF NORTH LINCOLNSHIRE**

“It seems as if it were off the high-road, so to speak, of busy modern English life. Lindsey is entirely agricultural, and in these days of depression amongst farmers, and of absentee landlords, it is visited by few strangers; and the only resident upper class is represented by the clergy, and a very mixed set of tenant-farmers, who, in trouble themselves, generally care little for the people under them, except as regards their work and pay”(Balfour, 1891, p. 147).

“with no more communication between its villages than by carrier's cart or a rare public, pheayton 'running' on market-days or to meet infrequent trains at distant stations”(Balfour,1897, p. 1).

### **2.3.1 The Carrs before the Seventeenth Century**

Until the mid-17th Century, in the Carrs, like the Fens further south, the flat land to the east and west of the River Ancholme, was flooded for much of the year and willows, osiers, alders and reeds grew and provided shelter for numerous species of birds, alongside rivers which were abundant with fish and eels. The Ancholme<sup>5</sup> has a shallow gradient with a fall of only 4 metres over the 40km of its course and until the seventeenth century it was a tidal creek of the Humber (Leahy, 2010, p. 16; Carey 2002, p. 61). The population lived off the land and water, often moving across the marshes on stilts or in small, flat bottomed punt boats. There was a livelihood for thousands of peasants who could gather the reeds, fodder, thatch, turf and sedge for their own use or for sale. Those who could afford to, kept cattle to graze on the pieces of land, that naturally drained during the summer (Thirsk, 1957, p. 6).

At night the Carrs must have appeared dark and frightening with “will o' the wisps” (lights) appearing in the twilight alongside burps and gurgles as methane gas erupted through swampy waters. The people living in the rough 'mud and stud' cottages<sup>6</sup> away from the village settlements, stayed indoors by a meagre fire<sup>7</sup> during the hours of darkness. They slept, and may even have lived on the upper floor of their houses during the winter months as the ground floor was likely to have been subject to frequent flooding.

The spring tides that occurred when the moon was new or full, and are particularly prevalent at the March and September equinox, were particularly feared due to their potential ferocity. These tides on the Trent can form an Aegir (similar to the Severn Bore. On land that was only just above sea-level it would not be surprising that the people of Lincolnshire were given to making offerings to the water 'spirits' to protect themselves and their houses.

---

<sup>5</sup> The name Ancholme is believed to derive from the Brythonic (Celtic) word 'an' (marsh) and 'colne' (river) (Leahy, 2010, p. 110).

<sup>6</sup> This was the most common form of cottage building (Field, 1984, p. 92). Walls were constructed of stakes, wattles, and mud (Sweeting, 1901, p. 125) with roofs of thatch.

<sup>7</sup> Huggett noted that labourer's cottages were often inadequately furnished and heated as farmers would not allow workers to collect dead branches, even after a storm (1972, p. 69). This was not necessarily the case in Redbourne as the school log book records that on 1 October 1877 children were collecting firewood after a gale in the night (p. 53).

### **2.3.2        Seventeenth Century Drainage**

In 1607 King James I, referring to the Fens and Carrs, declared that he would “not suffer these counties to be abandoned to the will of the waters” and appointed a commission to examine the drainage of the Great Level of the Fens of South Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire and Norfolk and the Isle of Axholme in North Lincolnshire (Gregg, 1981, p. 223).

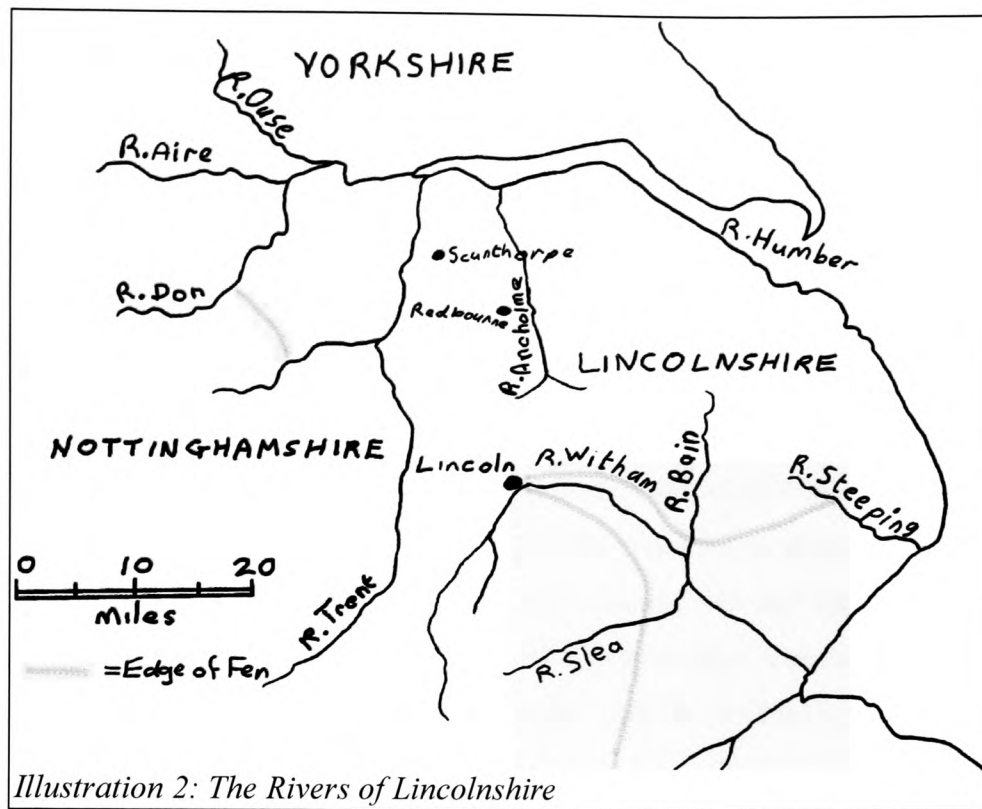
It was quite a few years before a Dutchman, Cornelius Vermuyden, with the support of the Duke of Bedford, undertook the drainage of 95,000 acres, to make it suitable for summer grazing. He ignored local advice that he should straighten existing rivers and chose instead to construct new straight drains to take water from the main rivers of the Fens (the Great Level) and at Hatfield Chase on the border of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, an area that includes the Isle of Axholme. In 1635, Sir John Monson commenced similar work on draining 18,000 acres of low lying land in the Ancholme Valley (Brears, 1927, p. 179; Carey, 2002, p. 62).

Large numbers of Dutch and Scottish prisoners were drafted in to carry out the drainage work, which, it is said, no local people would touch. In the Isle of Axholme and further south on the Great Level, many local people fought back against the new land use and the loss of their summer pastures. They damaged sluices, filled in drains, demolished embankments and attacked workmen (Lindley, 1982, p. 148), sometimes disguising their actions amidst the playing of rowdy football matches with riotous crowds! They also allowed their cattle onto the enclosed fields of crops.

In February 1639 the drainage work on the river Ancholme was completed and 5,827 acres of reclaimed land allotted to Monson. Three months later there were reports of several men ‘of poor and mean condition’ breaking down the banks and fences at night and driving cattle into Monson’s enclosures. The Privy Council soon instructed the local justices to punish the offenders (Lindley, 1982, p. 107).

With the majority of the land drained and enclosed, the local people had to accept that the remaining grazing lands, no longer enriched by the mud deposited by the winter floods were not able to support as many cattle as before (Thirsk, 1957, p. 119). They also had to contend with the change in the soil chemistry which altered the grass, and

made the ground harder, leading to sickness and lameness in the cattle and the horses (Horn, 1987, p. 13).



*Illustration 2: The Rivers of Lincolnshire*

With the drainage, the people lost their traditional livelihoods, as new crops were sewn on the drained lands and good harvests of flax, hemp, cole-seed, woad, peas, oats, wheat, onions, corn and grass were gathered in. To make a living some were still able to carry on fishing and fowling, as there was still an abundance of fish, particularly tench, pike, eels and perch in the rivers. They sent much of their catch to the growing markets in London. Other people gained a living navigating the waterways, transporting the new crops.

Within 30 years it was obvious that much of the drainage plans were flawed. The fields and homes were again subject to flooding and the people were bewildered as to the reason. Drainage relied on gravity and as the peat dried out and shrank the ground level lowered. At Hatfield Chase and the Ancholme Cars, the river beds were soon as high as the surrounding soil when they had previously been 14 feet below and wind pumps were needed to aid the drainage. There was the added problem of the fine powdery peat soil being blown away taking the seeds with it. New works were needed.

### **2.3.3 Nineteenth Century drainage and its Effects**

Whilst Ancholme navigation was improved in 1767 (Davey, 1994, p. 129), it was not until 1826 that a proposal was submitted to widen, deepen and straighten the River Ancholme. These works were designed to have a dramatic effect on the Ancholme Carrs, to turn the land which had seen the great draining scheme in the seventeenth century, from pasture to arable land. Investment was also put into the development of steam pumps to replace the wind pumps which kept the land free from excess water.<sup>8</sup> The changes meant that farmers could grow crops to take advantage of market forces and also rotate crops to increase yields (Thirsk, 1957, p. 220).

During the work, the turf lands were pared and burned to destroy grubs and insects and get rid of the matted herbage. The ashes were then mixed into the soil to prepare it for sewing with rape, wheat or oats. In time the older inhabitants of the fen villages who had specialised in rearing thousands of geese and catching fish and wildfowl, died off, so their children and grandchildren started to earn their livings from the same lands in a quite different way – “as ploughmen and labourers on rich cornland” (Thirsk, 1957, p. 235).

However, not all the newly drained lands were used for crop growing. Research by Beastall shows that after a few years of crops many acres were put down to grass again, and much of the farming in the area became mixed husbandry (1978, p. 780). This was the case around Redbourne where sheep farming was preferred by the landowners, of which more will be discussed later.

Alongside the drainage came the ‘Enclosure’ movement which saw the dividing up of open fields across the county. It has been estimated that during the eighteenth and nineteenth century 445,777 acres were enclosed in Lincolnshire (Brears, 1927, p. 185). In each village, commissioners were appointed to survey the land and allot it to various claimants who planted hedges round their share. As the open fields disappeared even more of the wetland based livelihood diminished, and the people had to find employment.

---

<sup>8</sup> The confidence boost given to farming by the Corn Laws meant that in Lincolnshire in the 1830’s and 40s much investment was put into the installation of pumps. In the 1840s and 1860s legislation was passed to encourage surface drainage across the county and landlords were given loans to assist this (Brown, 2005, pp. 97-100).

### **2.3.4 Adapting to New Methods of Farming**

In the 1800s it was common to hire male workers by the year, particularly horsemen, cowmen and shepherds (Brown, 2005, p. 44), especially in the more isolated areas, such as the Wolds. Such hirings would commonly take place at the 'Stattis' or 'Statute' Fair (Greig, 2004, p. 388-389) and these 'confined men' would live on the farm or close by, for the term of their employment. If they were unmarried they often boarded with the foremen. If married they typically lived in a tied cottage with a garden that could feed 1 or 2 pigs. They may even have had land for a cow's grass and hay. These men were considered above the agricultural labourers and had the most secure form of employment. Such men included foremen, waggoners, shepherds and garthmen<sup>9</sup> (Rawding, 2001, p. 12).

In 1834 the Poor Law Amendment Act meant that unemployed agricultural labourers were obliged to take the work that was going, as no able-bodied person was to receive money or other help from the Poor Law authorities, except in a workhouse. New workhouses were constructed in every parish or group of parishes. Such workhouses were to establish harsh regimes designed to discourage people from seeking help. This had a profound effect on poor rural families as they realised they would have to support themselves, or be separated in the workhouses. Even more of the rural population, particularly the young, migrated away to the new industrial towns to gain employment<sup>10</sup> (Roberts, 1963, p. 101).

In the 1850s labour shortages resulting from the Australian gold rushes, the Crimea War and the Irish famine led farmers to invest in the new American mowers and reapers that were being publicly advertised and on show at the Great Exhibition (Jones, 1964, p. 333). Mechanization led to less demand for labour and to the appearance of an elite labour force in the form of the machine operators and mechanics. In the 1860s and 1870s, the difficulty in getting male workers was used to justify the hiring of women and children (Brown, 2005, p.46).

### **2.3.5 The Growth of the Gang Labour System**

With the new successful drainage, the gang labour system grew to prominence as a means of finding workers for the new lands, particularly in the rural counties of

---

<sup>9</sup> Garthmen looked after the animals in the farmyard.

<sup>10</sup> Dissatisfaction and a desire to escape from the 'farmer's drudge also led to many of the young people who had received a basic education, leaving the land (Digby, 1981, p. 1493).

Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire and Norfolk, and increasingly women and children, even as young as seven were recruited by gang masters for seasonal work (Richardson, 1993, p. 2).

“The gangs, which were known as ‘jobbing’, ‘common’ or ‘travelling’ gangs were made up mainly of women and children and were worked under a gang-master, who hired the work force out on contract to any farmer requiring help. The size of the gangs usually ranged between twenty and forty members and children as young as five or six could be found in their numbers” (Livingston, 1978, p. 16).

The working day for the gangs could be as long as sixteen hours, if travelling time was included, and the work hard but the earnings would often mean the difference between subsistence and starvation. In 1867 Parliamentary evidence on agricultural gangs included:

There are no manufactories here, and consequently a poor man with barely sufficient earnings for himself and wife could not possibly maintain a family of four or five grown-up daughters, and the work performed by the women and girls could not or...would not in fact, ever be done by men...(Verdon, 2001, p. 47).

The expanses of new land also lacked housing developments, partly because employers were reluctant to build new cottages, as they might then risk “some future increase in poor rates of their own parishes” (Jones, 1964, p. 326). Things were so bad that “many landowners and farmers...actively discouraged settlement in ‘closed’ parishes by pulling down cottages and obliging the inhabitants to congregate in neighbouring ‘open’ parishes”. As a consequence the labour force was required often to travel from the old villages, perhaps five or six miles away to get to the farms (Thirsk, 1957, p. 217). Mothers, who took on the gang labour work to provide badly needed income for their families, often chose to dose their children with opium to keep them quiet to make it easier for older children or neighbours to care for them.<sup>11</sup>

By the 1860s there was much opposition to the gang labour system, particularly the employment of young children. It was said that the hours of work, the mixing of the sexes, the rough conditions and the neglect of basic schooling had led to an ‘unhappy, uncouth and demoralised generation’ (Thirsk, 1957, p. 218). After the 1867 CEC report<sup>12</sup> legislation was introduced to prohibit the use of children under the age of eight, and regulate working conditions. The Education Act in the same year added to the

---

<sup>11</sup> CEC Report.

<sup>12</sup> This report contains a small section on Kirton with evidence provided by a vicar, a schoolmaster, a farmer, a ganger and 2 labourers wives (1867, p. 289).



restrictions on employment but permitted the casual employment of children between the ages of eight and ten for up to six weeks for the harvest (Digby, 1981, p. 1495).

### **2.3.6 Competition, particularly from Abroad**

Alongside the other negative aspects, the mid 1870s saw unrestricted imports of cheaper foreign produce and marked the beginning of large-scale importation of cheese and bacon from Europe, grain from the American prairies and meat in refrigerated ships from New Zealand and Argentina (Thirsk, 1957, p. 13). The comparative uniqueness of each farm and the variety of soil types meant that, in Lincolnshire, it was not easy to diversify (Perkins, 1975, p. 10). The use of machinery to help with threshing was also becoming more common.<sup>13</sup>

In 1872 things became really desperate for the Lincolnshire farm workers culminating in the aptly named 'Revolt of the Field', which included the founding of agricultural trade unions. The farm labourers were fighting for a 9 hour working day (not including lunch) and an increase in their pay. Farmers sometimes chose not to hire members of the Unions and to use itinerant Irish labourers who would work for less than the local labourers.<sup>14</sup> Understandably this kind of action would lead to resentment which sometimes exploded in violent acts particularly arson (Richardson, 1993, p. 17; Barber, 1982, p. 16).

Arson, particularly in the form of stack burning had been noticeable in the area since 1855, when a farmer at Waddingham had his rick burned, though the culprits were believed to be tramps. Six years later, in Belton, three stacks were destroyed in the early hours of a September morning by a disgruntled local man with a drink problem. An official poster was produced in 1865 which referred to a series of arson attacks across North Lincolnshire including Barton, Thornton Curtis, Worlaby and Appleby (Wade, 2005, p. 50). During the Revolt of 1872, many groups of farmers, including those of Brigg and Kirton-in-Lindsey set up 'Incendiary Fire Associations' (Russell, 1956, p.

---

<sup>13</sup> The initial introduction of such technology had caused the Swing Riots, which spread throughout the country in 1830.

<sup>14</sup> A search of the census returns for 1881 & 1891 for Redbourne reveal one Irish labourer – a widower Thomas Caufied age 51 living alone at Stoneham (in 1881). Many itinerant workers came over from Ireland during the periods of greatest demand (Rawding, 2001, p. 135). They would follow the harvest from county to county (Brown, 2005, p. 48). *The Stamford Mercury* included advertisements for Harvest Men including Irish Labourers (Box 36 notebook page 92 Rex Russell Papers). The CEC Report mentioned Irish labourers in the Carrs and the Isle of Axholme. This subject was explored at length by Barber (1982, pp. 10-23).

15).

After 1879, and the worst harvest on record, many Lincolnshire farmers who had not adjusted to the changing times went bankrupt (Thirsk, 1957, p. 313). Other farmers and many labourers chose to abandon the land to follow the earlier migrants to the industrialised cities,<sup>15</sup> join the army, the police force or the railway companies (Winn, 1950, p. 234; Jones, 1964, p. 328). Others opted for emigration to start a new life elsewhere, particularly in New Zealand. Many agents were employed in the area to recruit families for the long voyage, newspapers contained letters outlining the benefits to the lives of the settlers, and advertisements for cheap passages and land availability. Special trains were even chartered for the passengers leaving Lincolnshire.<sup>16</sup>

The final reason for the depopulation of many rural villages in Lincolnshire was caused indirectly by the provision of education for the children. The young people who had learnt to read and write looked down on their illiterate parents and many a boy said “I’ll never be a farmer’s drudge if I can help it”; they either stayed in their villages working the new farm machines or moved away (Winn, 1950, p. 235; Jones, 1964, p. 334).

### 2.3.7 Redbourne in the Nineteenth Century

“...in the length of the valley there were few houses, and those mostly of recent date; small farms, tenanted but rarely by men who belonged to the countryside. It was in the villages that the Car folk lived a rambling cluster of houses round a squat-towered church, and a single empty street set scantily with gables...”  
(Balfour, 1897, p. 4).

The above description of a village in the Lincolnshire Carrs was included by Balfour in her novel *Fall of the Sparrow*.<sup>17</sup> It fits the village of Redbourne<sup>18</sup> quite well. For, as mentioned earlier, the village contains the typical elements – church, school, public house, manor house, farm house, farm buildings and worker’s cottages. In the late-

<sup>15</sup> The proportion of the national workforce engaged in agriculture declined from 30-40 per cent in 1800 to 7-10 per cent in 1900 (Collins, 1975, p. 109). In 1851 about 25% of employed men in Britain worked on farms. The new railway networks aided the movement away from rural areas (Huggett, 1972, p. 72).

<sup>16</sup> In 1859 a chemist from Brigg, Lincolnshire organised a party of at least 70 people who immigrated to New Zealand. [Online account]. The ‘Lincolnshire Labour and Migration League’ was founded in April 1872. Large numbers of labourers emigrated in the second half of the 1870s (Rawding, 2001, p.135). One such agent was William Burton from Taranaki who arrived in Lincolnshire in January 1875 (Arnold, 1981, p.159).

<sup>17</sup> The Lincolnshire references in this novel are explored in Appendix 6.

<sup>18</sup> Redbourne once lacked the final ‘e’. It was added in about 1850 to differentiate the village from the larger village of the same name near St Albans in Hertfordshire.

nineteenth century there was also a blacksmith, two grocers and a post-office, with letters arriving each morning and being dispatched each afternoon via Kirton in Lindsey sorting office.

The directory for 1892 listed the village as being about equidistant from Scawby and Kirton-in-Lindsey railway stations. Both stations were on the Great Central railway line between Gainsborough and Grimsby which was opened in 1849 (Allen, 1996, p22).

In the 1889 directory the list of principal residents in Redbourne included three farmers, a joiner and wheelwright, a boot and shoe maker, the local auctioneer, overseer and rate collector (who was also the innkeeper) and J C Balfour as Surgeon, residing at the vicarage. This building still survives as the Old Vicarage and is described in the Conservation Area Appraisal as having 17th century origins, which were reworked in the 19<sup>th</sup> century with the addition of a coach house/stable. The building was originally constructed in limestone and most of the later changes were in brick.

Redbourne was a closed village under the ownership of the Duke of St Albans and as a consequence of his being the main landowner, landlord and employer, (Livingston, 1978, p. 4) he had control over the lives of the villagers. In the 1840s and 1850s the Land Agent for the Duke is known to have insisted that the children of the village families, once they were of age to work, should leave the village to take employment elsewhere. Evidence shows that many did not move far away and later returned to Redbourne.<sup>19</sup>

The estate papers of Redbourne include a valuation dated 1801, prior to drainage, with the recommendation that:

it would be a very valuable improvement if the Carr lands were so embanked as to free them from summer floods to preserve the crops, the light lands have a great dependence on them for manure, but the liability to floods makes that dependence very uncertain as well as the profits of the tenants and it is impossible to fix a value on them with any satisfactory degree of correctness.<sup>20</sup>

At the time the buildings, “with few exceptions” had been allowed to fall into “premature decay, for lack of timely reparations of trifling defects.”<sup>21</sup> The work was to

---

<sup>19</sup> Telephone conversation with Mrs Taylor, expert on the 1841 & 1851 Redbourne Census February 2012. Even in the 1960s there were some children within the village who had never travelled as far as either Kirton or Brigg.

<sup>20</sup> 2 RED 4/1/1 Valuation. Redbourne papers at Lincolnshire archives.

<sup>21</sup> 2/RED 4/1A Valuation of the parish of Redbourne, Spring 1801. By 1917 when most of the estate was sold, the properties had been substantially repaired or rebuilt (Bidwell & Sons 1917).

cost £1800. Ten years later among the rent records for Redbourne is a note that the tenants promise to follow “the customary mode of husbandry, keeping their ditches and Carr drains well cleaned and their allotments...in good order.”<sup>22</sup>

The Duchy was instrumental in the building of not just Redbourne Hall<sup>23</sup> with many outbuildings and estate properties, but also other buildings within the village. The Duke also built the schoolhouse and master's residence on the moated area known as Castle Hill, in 1840. The living of the church and vicarage was also the gift of the Duke and he, and his wife, were ‘liberal contributors’ to the ‘juvenile and adult clothing-clubs.’ Though, from the mid-nineteenth century, the Dukes no longer lived in the village, in the 1870s and 1880s, they would travel from Bestwood, Nottinghamshire, to attend the Village Feast<sup>24</sup> and visit the school on occasions.<sup>25</sup>

The village had a relatively small population, but in the 1880s this decreased by 12%.<sup>26</sup> During this period the number of houses that were occupied in the parish decreased from 81 to 70.<sup>27</sup> The cottages which dated back to the 18th century were small with two storeys and built in the vernacular style of limestone, with sliding Yorkshire sash windows and pantiled roofs. They had little additional land. Those from the later 19th century were larger cottages of brick with slate roofs, and with both front and rear gardens (Lynam, 2004).<sup>28</sup>

As a closed village, Redbourne obtained extra workers from elsewhere. The C.E.C. report (1867) included mention that adult and child labourers from Kirton would travel to Redbourne to assist with agricultural work.<sup>29</sup> Brief analysis of the census returns provides evidence for an increase in prosperity to 1881 and then a depression<sup>30</sup> and also

<sup>22</sup> 2 RED 4/1/1 Valuation. Redbourne papers.

<sup>23</sup> A mansion house, about half a mile to the south of the village surrounded by 300 acres of parkland. (Lynam, 2004, pp.1-7)

<sup>24</sup> As happened in July 1879 – School Log Book p.71. The 10<sup>th</sup> Duke was a British Liberal politician until he took his seat in the House of Lords. As Lord Lieutenant of Nottinghamshire, he preferred to live at Bestwood, near Nottingham. History of Bestwood [Online].

<sup>25</sup> Such a visit took place on 10<sup>th</sup> April 1885 – School Log Book p.115.

<sup>26</sup> From 367 (the highest total during the century) in 1881 to 321 in 1891.

<sup>27</sup> In 1881 there were 3 unoccupied houses and in 1891 there were 6 in the parish.

<sup>28</sup> Analysis of the land assignment dated 13 July 1839 reference RED 2/3/12 Redbourne Papers. The census showed that in 1881, half of the dwellings in the parish had 5 or more rooms, and many of the cottages had gardens of at least 5 acre. Most of the remainder had 4 rooms and one such house was occupied by 8 people. The average family size was 4 though there were two families of 10, including the vicar's family. There were also four families of 7 and three of 6 people.

<sup>29</sup> CEC Report p.288.

<sup>30</sup> There was an increase from 3439 acres farmed by 10 farmers employing 88 labourers (men and boys) in 1871 to 3752 acres farmed by 9 farmers employing 121 labourers in 1881. Unfortunately the type of information recorded on the census returns changes for 1891 but it indicates that number of farmers was reduced to 6 with only 55 men listed as agricultural labourers.

shows that the occupations of the villagers reflected changes in land use from sheep farming to arable. The Directory of 1889 described the soil in Redbourne as being light loam; subsoil limestone and the chief crops were listed as wheat, barley and turnips.<sup>31</sup>

### **2.3.8 Was Redbourne an Isolated Village?**

The historian Storey recently criticised the assertion of folk song collector Cecil Sharp that he was collecting folk songs from isolated communities. Storey claimed that the enormous changes in transport and communications with improved roads and railways, combined with popular culture in the nineteenth century meant that places could no longer be isolated (Storey, 2003, p. 8).

Balfour alleged within the introduction to the *Legends*, that she had found a community who had been kept in a state of “primitive rural isolation” and of the villagers, “...many of them live and die within the limits of a narrow parish, outside of which they never set foot”(p. 148). Is there any proof that this was the case?

Redbourne historian Anne-Marie Taylor, who has extensively researched the census returns for the village, noted that the old Roman road (now the A15) was a turnpike road in the nineteenth century and effectively by-passed the village. As noted above, family members moved away but often came back to bring up their children within the village, keeping up a strong sense of continuity. This was also reflected in the stability of the education and religious worship within the village and the Dukes of St Albans also kept the village closed from outside intervention, which will be explored within the next section.

Tim Davies, of North Lincolnshire Library & Information Services, believes that:

Northern Lincolnshire has always been a bit cut off, more so even before it was properly drained. Apart from Ermine Street (now the A15) there have never been very many roads in and out. It's still a pretty insular place, especially in the more isolated villages...I wouldn't be surprised if the topography, the big sky, and the isolation allowed the folk imagination to run wild, untempered by some of the outside influences other areas might expect...<sup>32</sup>

Davies also observed:

---

<sup>31</sup> *Kelly's Directory* 1889. The census for the forty years from 1841 the number of woodsmen was reduced from 3 to 1, but the number of shepherds increased from 3 to 6. In 1851 the village supported 5 ploughmen. A decade later none were listed perhaps indicating that a steam plough was brought in to carry out the work. By 1881 they were definitely doing this and a team of engine drivers and ploughmen with a steam plough were staying in a portable van on census night.

<sup>32</sup> Email October 2011.

The other striking characteristic of this landscape is its openness. Great distances lie open and bare before the traveller: it is clear how far away the next village is. Being able to see a long way (even in bad weather) lends the landscape...a quiet awesomeness, in which man is confronted with his smallness; a feeling perhaps akin to that experienced by mariners on the open sea... Combined with the scattered nature of settlement here, it may also suggest a reason for the somewhat insular approach to life.<sup>33</sup>

## **2.4 EDUCATION AND RELIGION IN NORTH LINCOLNSHIRE**

“...all H.M. Inspectors of Schools are shocked at the wild shapes which still haunt the minds of the great mass of the community. It cannot be said that the English are not a superstitious people. Here we have gone on for more than 100 years, proclaiming our opinion that the belief in witches, and wizards, and ghosts and fetches were extinct throughout the land...” (Dasent, 1859, p. xvi).

“Only tantalising fragments...[of stories, beliefs and customs]... have survived and from them the folklorist has to build up the main structure of his science. The spread of education led to a wilful and deliberate attempt to stamp out the old rural culture...” (Records of the Eastern Counties Folklore Society, 1936-39, p. 107).

### **2.4.1 The Education of Children in Rural Communities**

When Queen Victoria came to the throne in 1837 it was believed that for many children reading was “a business of labour rather than pleasure”(1836, p.104). It has also been estimated that just less than three quarters of all adults could read and less than one half could write (Webb, 1955, p. 167). Education was seen by the government, and particularly by their main adviser, Dr. Kay (later Kay-Shuttleworth), as key to changing the attitude of children to poverty; ridding the population of decadent behaviour; encouraging children to look to the teacher above the parents and to establishing socially separate school communities in which the teachers were superior to the pupils (Johnson, 1970, p. 104). Kay-Shuttleworth summed up his hopes to get rid of “brutish incapacity to learn, gross habits, heathenism, and barbarism in their scholars, notwithstanding frequent migration, extreme irregularity of attendance at school, and the rareness of auxiliary home training” (Kay-Shuttleworth, 1973, p. 579).

In 1834, the government had given its first grant to the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society to cover half the cost of building a nationwide network of school houses. They required the communities to find the remaining amount from voluntary contributions (Barnard, 1961, p. 98).

---

<sup>33</sup> Email April 2012.

Partly as a result of research which indicated that those “possessed of superior instruction” were less likely to be convicted by the courts (Hole 1969, p. 91), and also due to a desire to fill in the gaps in the National Education provision, the Education Acts of the 1870s required that parents of all children between the ages of five years and thirteen years should send their children (unless there was some reasonable excuse) to school<sup>34</sup> where they would consequently learn to read. Probably due to a charge being made for education,<sup>35</sup> and because the power over this was left to local areas, many children attended irregularly, or not at all (Reay, 1991, p. 103).

If the children did attend schools, they were often under the influences of teachers who openly ridiculed their dialect. It was noted by Atkinson that “the schoolmaster and the Inspector of Schools have been the ruin of the so-called 'dialect' ”(1891, p. 32). Inspectors were also accused of waging war “upon 'provincial dialect and indistinct articulation,' 'coarse provincial accents' and 'faults and vulgarities of expression’”(Johnson, 1970, p. 105).

## 2.4.2 Education in Redbourne

In December 1835, the 9th Duke of St. Albans, was asked if he “would erect a house suitable for a school master and mistress with a couple of rooms capable of holding 50 boys & 50 girls.”<sup>36</sup> Three months earlier, an advert had appeared in the Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury, advertising for a “Village Schoolmaster, of decided piety, belonging to the Established Church...”<sup>37</sup>

The new Endowed National (mixed) School at Redbourne, was opened in 1840, with two classrooms, one for boys and one for girls, along with a house for the schoolmaster. The first master appointed was Joseph Perry from Middlesex with his wife Elizabeth, from Birmingham, acting as mistress.<sup>38</sup> At some time in 1844, the Perrys were replaced by Philip Brearley, a 23 year old Yorkshireman and his wife Ann from Great Coates, Lincolnshire.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Elementary Education Act 1870 p471.[online resource].

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. p. 459. This fee was set by the school board and it could be waived in cases of extreme poverty.

<sup>36</sup> The Duke was William Aubrey de Vere Beauclerk. Redbourne Papers 2 RED 4/9/8/42

<sup>37</sup> *Stamford Mercury* 25 Sept 1835. Applications were to be sent to the vicar.

<sup>38</sup> Perry (age 45) and his wife (age 35) were living in Redbourne in 1841 but by 1851 they had moved to Birmingham where they had similar employment.

<sup>39</sup> Brearley had come from Elland in West Yorkshire, though in 1841 he was living in Market Rasen with his wife Ann from Great Coates, Lincolnshire and his elderly father. Ann had died in 1853 by which time they had 4 children aged between 2 and 9.

Regular use of the school log book was commenced by Brearley, as was required by the Revised Code, in July 1872.<sup>40</sup> In the book he recorded the days of the school holidays and days of low attendance. He also noted that in cases of persistent non-attendance the vicar would be informed.

Throughout the 1870s, Brearley recorded the reasons for noticeable absences.<sup>41</sup> In addition to extreme weather, children were off in April for planting potatoes and washing sheep;<sup>42</sup> May for the Brigg Statute Fair; July for fruit-picking, hay-making, turnip singling, the school feast, the agricultural shows at Gainsborough, Lincoln and Grimsby, plus the Brigg and Kirton Fairs; September for the Waddingham Feast and for gleanings; October for taking up potatoes, gathering walnuts and the Hibaldstow Feast; December for pig killing and on the 21st for Thomassing, a custom that enabled the collection of food or money for Christmas.<sup>43</sup>

Reay's research indicated that farmers believed boys should be working from the age of eight. However, if the mothers were in employment, schools could be useful 'nurseries' for girls where they would learn sewing (1991, p. 107). Such mothers would have been impressed with the school at Redbourne because a sewing mistress<sup>44</sup> was employed to teach the girls.

A number of songs were also taught in the school including the "*Fairies' Dance*" and "*The Moon*." The latter may relate to the reference by Balfour to a "rhyme some children were singing" (p. 149) and will be investigated in section 3.3 and Appendix 4. Singing was required to be taught in all elementary schools and was one of the criteria examined under the payment by results scheme from 1873 (Rainbow, 1989, p. 243; Wyatt, 1903, p. 181) it was seen as a means of teaching the younger children manners and morals, and encouraging social stability, for "songs taught to children may be such as will impress their minds with kindly feelings..." (Hickson, 1836, p. 3; Turner, 1833; Colls, 1976, p. 75; Storey, 2003, p. 12).

---

<sup>40</sup> The Principal Teacher was required to make at least one entry each week. The book was to be made available to the HMI School Inspector. The Redbourne book is at the County Record Office. Reference SR 838/8/1.

<sup>41</sup> Young has researched the level of school absence brought about by agricultural work in an unpublished thesis that is available online (2008).

<sup>42</sup> Sheep would be washed prior to clipping as this would improve the sale price. *The Farmers Magazine* Volume 8, 1838 p284 [Online resource].

<sup>43</sup> On St Thomas' Day poor widows and children would go round the houses begging for food or money to have a good Christmas. In some places this was known as goodening.

<sup>44</sup> Mr Brearley's sister-in-law Mary Clayton, fulfilled this role after his wife died in 1853.



In 1875, the Master noted that children were being taken from the school when they had passed Standard IV as this was all that was required by the government. This standard required that children had basic reading, writing and arithmetic skills (Sturt 1967, p. 324). A year later the school report noted that the children were successful in elementary subjects but not so good on grammar and geography. The sewing and singing were good. Two years later the report was excellent.<sup>45</sup>

School attendance became compulsory for all children between the ages of five and ten in 1880 and in March, Brearley recorded that every child on the register was present.<sup>46</sup> However, despite this requirement some families still continued to fail to send the children to school, including the 'Brattons' who would also not pay outstanding fees.<sup>47</sup>

In 1885, and only 16 days after the Duke of St Albans and the Vicar visited the school, Brearley retired, after teaching at the school for 41 years. He was presented with a gift from old scholars and friends. Three years later, Brearley passed away and his successor William Marsh recorded his interment in the school log-book.<sup>48</sup>

It appears that Mr. Marsh may have found it challenging to take over from his popular predecessor. He and his wife (also sewing mistress) came from Kent and the school inspector was to note in March 1886 that "The loss of so old and successful a master as Mr. Brearley has of course told more or less on the school."<sup>49</sup> However, the children passed well in the elementary subjects.

The school log book for May 1889 records the departure of Mrs Healey, the Schoolmistress who "gave up charge of [the] school having been four years."<sup>50</sup> Three months earlier the book showed that the HM Inspection for December 1888 found the "little school" to be in "excellent order" and that the inspector was "well satisfied with the results of the examination."<sup>51</sup>

The government funded schools had competition at the time from private schools known as Dame Schools. It should be noted; however, that on the census for

---

<sup>45</sup> School Log Book p40, p.48.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid, p.75.

<sup>47</sup> By this time persistent truants could be sent to truant schools (Sturt, 1967, p. 329).

<sup>48</sup> Log book p.169.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, p.130.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid, p.187. She must have been appointed at the same time as Marsh, on the retirement of Brearley.

<sup>51</sup> *Kelly's Directory* 1889 recorded that "children attending this school are eligible, if duly qualified, as candidates for exhibitions connected with Kirton-in-Lindsey school."p.369.

Redbourne, with the exception of one family who had a governess, there is no record of anyone other than the schoolmaster and the sewing mistress, listed as being a teacher within the village. It is also unlikely, with the school having the patronage of the Duke of St Albans, that villagers living in properties also owned by the Duke would have been able to have their children educated elsewhere.

### 2.4.3 Literacy in the General Population

Kay-Shuttleworth had theorised that when the parents also have an education through day and evening schools things will improve (1973, p. 581). John Eddowes, of Bradford noted in 1854, that

for the intellectual advancement of our people, we have in almost every town day-schools, night-schools, and ragged schools, that even...the poorest may be able to obtain "a little learning"...but scant is the provision that has been made for the village labourer (Eddowes, 1854, p. 17).

The historian, Altick believed that in the countryside, conditions of life among the agricultural labouring masses gave little opportunity or incentive for reading or writing. As Olney pointed out, "Why should the poor need to write? The labourers were not expected to play any part in parish affairs" (Olney 1979, p. 83). For the rural poor important information was passed orally from person to person down the generations. They knew the critical dates in the calendar and their customary rights and had no need for books.

In 1838 a survey of 150 labouring homes found that over 40% possessed absolutely no reading material.<sup>52</sup> Some families kept a bible<sup>53</sup> as a treasured possession, but only twelve houses had non-religious books. These people may have had

a little shelf of worn and precious books, family possessions passed down through a century or more ...*Robinson Crusoe*, *Pilgrim's Progress*, ballads, and chapbooks bought at a fair long ago or from a peddler at the door (Altick, 1998, p. 95).

But in the 150 homes less than 10% of the parents opened a book in the evening

---

<sup>52</sup> Evans, whilst in Suffolk, found a case of a woman, born in 1885 who had won a book at school. Her mother took it away from her as she believed that "reading made children dissatisfied with their station in life" (Williams, 1991, p. 37). More recently Neil Lanham, who also grew up in Suffolk recalled how his mother did not approve of books and regarded novels as a "complete waste of time" (Hughes, 2003).

<sup>53</sup> Jefferies noted that "hardly a cottager who can read is without his Bible"(1879, p. 90). Fox and Woolf found that in the 1860s and 1870s many children left school at 10 years of age to go to work and had no more use for writing or summing, though they may have continued to read from the family bible (2002, p. 269).

(Reay, 1991, p. 116). This may not just have been caused by illiteracy. The long working day, and dimly lit houses would have discouraged any attempt at reading (Altick, 1998, p. 92; Ekirch, 2005, p. 207). However, as the nineteenth century progressed more people began to see the value of education. A driving force behind this was the Mechanics' Institutes' that were founded in large numbers in the 1830s to provide lectures and improvement for the working classes, many of them with libraries attached. In 1864 in Lincolnshire the Mechanics' Institutes started to promote Penny Readings and their example was soon followed by churches, chapels and Temperance Societies (Russell, 1994, p. 109).

At Gainsborough, the aim of the penny readings was to provide opportunities for "enjoying innocent and rational amusement and recreation." Weekly meetings were held during the winter months and the entertainment would consist of "readings in prose and poetry from works of standard authors" interspersed with music, glees and songs (Russell, 1994, p. 110). A report from 1869 in the *Stamford Mercury*, noted that singers were much more popular than readers. At the Stamford readings "the best readers were listened to patiently only when they read short pieces" and indifferent readers were often interrupted "by stamping and other rough methods." The singers in Stamford generally received encores (Russell, 1994, p. 117).

Records show that Kirton in Lindsey and Brigg were amongst the towns that hosted penny readings in 1864 and in the following years many of the larger villages also followed the example including Broughton, Scawby and Hibaldstow. There is however, no record of any such initiative in Redbourne, though the villagers may have had the benefit of listening to readers of the newspapers in the Red Lion Inn or elsewhere within the village. Whether they listened to readings from books of stories, in the way noted by John Clare, no record survives.

In 1836 many of the landlords of public houses, took advantage of the reduced tax on newspapers, and began to pay readers to pick out and read aloud interesting items (Webb, 1955, p. 34). They may also have read from cheap periodicals that had become available since the arrival of the railways. It was found that "narratives of the stirring events of the day" were much more of interest than literary pieces (Hill, 1836, p. 109; Altick, 1998, p. 90).

Within Redbourne, the children who had attended the village school when it first

opened would have reached their teenage years in the early 1850s. From this time, though not fluent in reading, it would be expected that they could access reading material if they wished.

This ability to read from the written page has been shown to have an effect on the imagination and on the ways of remembering. The memory no longer needs to be relied upon in a literate society. Goody (1992) observed that pre-literate oral cultures respect the elderly for the knowledge that they have memorised. The lack of trust by the literate to the spoken word testimonies of the rural agricultural workers has been noted by George Ewart Evans and explored by Lanham (2012). Ong (1982, pp. 77-80) also noted that “writing restructures consciousness” and that the processes used for creating, storing, retrieving and transmitting knowledge are radically different in literate and oral cultures.

#### **2.4.4 The role of the Church in rural communities**

Obelkevich noted that small parishes were favourable to the Established Church as, though the living for the resident incumbent may be inadequate, the church was more accessible and the parson, or squire more influential (1976, p. 8). In 1851 a Census of Religious Worship was launched and its findings indicated that about a quarter of the population of England attended Church of England worship and the same percentage worshipped elsewhere. The remainder “perhaps over half the population had failed to worship anywhere at all” (Coleman, 1980, p. 7). In rural Lincolnshire this exclusion may have been exacerbated by the feeling that the poor parishioners were not worthy to receive the sacraments, even if they had been confirmed into the church. Indeed Obelkevich found that in 1858, within the majority of south Lindsey parishes, Holy Communion was only celebrated four times (1976, p. 271).

The Anglican sacrament of Baptism, or Christening, or naming, as it was often called, was however popular, mainly because of the widely held belief that the unbaptised would not be entitled to a Christian burial, and may be confined to wander after death in the form of ‘wild geese’<sup>54</sup> (Obelkevich, 1976, p. 272). Likewise, the ‘Thanksgiving of Women after Childbirth,’ more universally known as ‘churching’ was also respected for its value in cleansing a woman after the birth and delaying the next pregnancy.<sup>55</sup> The

---

<sup>54</sup> This ‘gabblerout’ will be explored in section 3.4.

<sup>55</sup> It was a popularly believed that going visiting before being churched would lead to the birth of another child within the year (Obelkevich, 1976, p. 273).

marriage ceremony and the burial of the dead were also generally accepted by the population.

Regarding the attitude of parishioners to the parson, they saw them in their varied role as preacher and pastor, gentleman and magistrate. The parson would also be expected to be able to conduct exorcisms, cast spells and have power over pagan spirits even though he may have a world view that was quite different from the parishioners (Obelkevich, 1976, p. 275).

The Church of England provided the people with an assurance of God's love and protection and encouraged them to pray for the fulfilment of their wishes and to live a good, moral life. In the early modern period, it also provided the holidays throughout the year, with the people even preserving festivals no longer celebrated by the clergy (Obelkevich, 1976, p. 270). However, in the nineteenth century, enclosure had led to a reduction in places to enjoy rural pastimes unless these received the patronage of the local gentry (Cunningham, 1990, p. 303). These pastimes had also come to be regarded as the juvenile pastimes of the inferior classes and not to be encouraged by those who wished to get on in the world.<sup>56</sup> Research indicates that in many Lincolnshire communities the tenants would be expected to dine with their local lord, perhaps in honour of his birthday (Perkins, 1975, p. 9).

The gentry were committed to the Church of England, along with other class values and were regular attenders at public services. They regarded it not just as a religious exercise but also as "the pre-eminent ritual of social stability" (Obelkevich, 1976, p. 315). Whilst the wealthy may have had private marriages, baptisms and burials, they valued their ability to pay for their own strategically placed, box pews in the parish church. They were joined by the more wealthy farmers, though in the mid-nineteenth century these were beginning to move over to the more liberal Methodist chapels.

#### **2.4.5 Redbourne Church and Congregations**

The findings of the 1851 Census of Religious worship shows that in Redbourne, on the morning of 30 March the general congregation comprised 61 and the Sunday scholars 47. In the afternoon the general congregation was 73 and those in Sunday school, 44. The total population of the village at this time was 354 (Ambler, 1979, p.

---

<sup>56</sup> The number of days holiday shrank to just two each year (Christmas Day and Good Friday) for farm labourers, who worked six days per week.

230) indicating that over 63% had attended either the service or Sunday school.<sup>57</sup> In a closed parish such as Redbourne it would have been expected that the villagers would follow the lead of the landowners,<sup>58</sup> the Dukes of St Albans, and attend the Anglican Church; however, the Duke was only nine years old at the time and living elsewhere.<sup>59</sup>

St Andrews church, Redbourne, had been rebuilt in the later English style, with the exception of some parts of the east end, in 1774 (Lewis, 1848, pp. 645-652) at the sole expense of the then vicar Rev. Robert Carter (whose daughter would latter marry the Duke of St Albans).<sup>60</sup> The interior of the building was described in 1848 as having been greatly beautified by the Beauclerk Dukes of St. Albans. The living was a vicarage, in the gift of the Duke.

The church, now cared for by the Churches Conservation Trust has an extra tall tower with two upper stages built in the eighteenth century, above the medieval original to enable it to be seen from the Hall. Inside the building, the south aisle of the chancel is the St Albans mausoleum and the north now forms a parish room. However, the most noticeable feature is the striking east window, with its enamelled glass depiction of the Opening of the Sixth Seal (Revelation, Chapter VI).<sup>61</sup> Within this image of the Day of Judgement, can be seen “the sun darkened, the moon turned to blood, rocks and mountains falling on cowering human beings, and the sky illuminated by lightning from the one end of Heaven to the other”(Thorold, 1996, p. 3).

---

<sup>57</sup> Churches would often hold two Sunday services to enable non-conformists to attend chapel and church (Ambler, 1979, p.xxvi). Rev. Harrison sent in the return for Redbourne and it can be assumed that a note would be made if some parishioners attended twice. Of the remaining 129 residents, some may have travelled to one of the three non-conformist chapels in Kirton in Lindsey where evening attendance could reach 300.

<sup>58</sup> George Ewart Evans found a similar situation when he moved to the closed village of Helmingham, Suffolk in 1962, where the villagers showed deference to the Tollemache family, the major landholders. Cottage leases contained the obligation to regularly attend church (Williams, 1991, pp.54-55).

<sup>59</sup> William Beauclerk succeeded his father the 9<sup>th</sup> Duke, to the title, when he died in 1849. He had been living at Redbourne Hall when the census was taken in 1841, but in 1851 he was in Hastings on census night (March 30<sup>th</sup>) and in 1861 in London. Redbourne Hall was advertised as for rent for a number of years from the 1850s (Interview with Taylor, 2012).

<sup>60</sup> The 8<sup>th</sup> Duke (1816 to 1825) married firstly, Charlotte Thelwall, daughter and heiress Rev. Robert Carter Thelwall of Redbourne Hall. The Dukes of St Albans were descendants of Charles II and Nell Gwyn.

<sup>61</sup> This image is based on Francis Danby's *The Opening of the Sixth Seal*, 1825 painting and refers to the episode in which seven seals are opened, one by one, by the Lamb, surrounded by the elders and the four Beasts of Judgement.



Illustration 3: *The Window in Redbourne Church*

The window is believed to have been installed between 1830 and 1840<sup>62</sup> at the time when Reverend Harrison was Vicar, of which more will be said below, and one can speculate on the effect this would have had on the parishioners when the biblical account attached to it was narrated. Reference to the “Golden Beasts of Judgement” is included in the Legend of *Tiddy Mun* (p. 152) and the “Judgment and the beginning of Hell itself” is referred to in *Stranger's Share*.

The church was restored in 1888 with the replacement of the 18<sup>th</sup> century furnishings. Plain pine pews were installed to seat 150, the gallery was removed and a new south porch was built.

## 2.4.6 Redbourne Clergy

From 1822 until his death in January 1866, the vicar of Redbourne was Edwin Harrison, M.A., from Flixborough, Lincolnshire. As the century had progressed it came to be expected that the vicar would know every family (Brooks & Saint, 1995, p. 54-55). Harrison had written a book entitled *The Protestant Instructor* which contained “a short Account of the First Ten Persecutions of the Primitive Christians, the Rise and Progress of the Papal Power, a Protestant man's Creed, and a Protestant Catechism, and

<sup>62</sup> Binnall put forward the theory that the window was erected as a memorial to the Duchess of St Albans who died in 1837 (1960-61, p. 409).



Harrison's book contains excessive descriptions of persecutions of the Early Christians such as having their flesh torn off with pincers and being burnt, beheaded or crucified. Harrison also noted that many of the practices and ceremonies of the Church of Rome were founded on Heathenism including kissing the feet, shaving the head (tonsure), candlemass, holy wells, holy water, patron saints, nunneries and even pilgrimages. In the section on the "Subversion of the Kingdom of Papal Antichrist," he quoted from Revelations and other passages from the Bible:

but GOD will interpose to protect his friends, to destroy his enemies, and to bring forward the solemn and long expected day of judgement; 'when all shall be judged according to their works, and death and hell be cast into the lake of fire, where the beast and false prophet are;' when wrath shall come on the children of disobedience to the uttermost, whilst the 'righteous shall shine forth as the sun in the Kingdom of their Father (Harrison 1830, p.303).

Three years after Harrison's death,<sup>64</sup> 28 year old George Godfrey, from Middlesex, moved to the village with his wife and three young children. A graduate of The Queen's College, Oxford, Godfrey had previously been curate of St Mary, Sheffield and Roxby with Risby.<sup>65</sup> He was sufficiently accepted by the 10<sup>th</sup> Duke of St Albans, that he was able to reside in Redbourne Hall from 1883 until at least 1901<sup>66</sup> and to employ a curate from 1884.<sup>67</sup>

In addition to conducting baptisms, weddings and funerals, Godfrey appears to have taken some part in the community affairs, at least in his relationship with the school. The log book records how the school feast was held at the vicarage,<sup>68</sup> he visited the school with the Duke and he was informed in the cases of absences.<sup>69</sup> With the appointment of the curate, he may have passed on these duties, particularly as Bassett had been born only 10 miles away just south of Kirton-in-Lindsey in the village of Ingham.

<sup>63</sup> Advertisement in *The Gentleman's Magazine* 99 (2) p.545.

<sup>64</sup> *Crockford's Clerical Directory* shows that Thomas Dean was vicar in the intervening years.

<sup>65</sup> *Crockford's* 1870, p.337.

<sup>66</sup> As explored earlier, the Duke was living at Bestwood, near Nottingham. In 1891 his household comprised his wife, 9 children, 4 boarders, his mother-in-law plus servants. In 1901 6 of his children between the age of 11 and 32 still lived with him, as did his mother-in-law aged 87.

<sup>67</sup> Henry John Bassett was employed as curate and permitted to live in the Hall with Godfrey and his family.

<sup>68</sup> The children were given a half holiday 17<sup>th</sup> July 1873 and August 2<sup>nd</sup> 1877. Log book pp.10, 52.

<sup>69</sup> Log Book pp. 1, 10, 115. He also gave the children a half holiday for the Queen's Birthday in 1887.



## 2.4.7 Paganism, Heathenism and Superstitious Belief in Lincolnshire

“The younger generations are changing; but they show less disbelief in the old legends than indifference to them; they seem growing, not so much less superstitious, as less impressionable. But in some of the old people, there is still a simple serious faith that is delightful, and I do not think that elsewhere in England one could nowadays find such a childlike certainty of unseen things or such an unquestioning belief in supernatural powers” (Balfour 1891, p. 148).

“The rural population of nineteenth-century Europe lived in a dangerous world in which...[they]...had few natural means of defending ... against such disasters. Prayers, pilgrimages, spells, rituals of all kinds were called in aid by the individual or by the community as a whole. Belief in the proximity of a world of spirits potent for good or evil and in the significance of particular times, places, objects, and animals as harbingers of good or ill fortune patterned all areas of life” (McLeod 1997, p. 55).

In the early part of the nineteenth century (1823) “Archdeacon Bayley complained ... that his Messingham<sup>70</sup> parishioners believed in ‘witches, the evil-eye, the casting out of devils etc. etc., and look upon him when they go to church on Sunday to be a perfect noodle’ (Olney 1979, p.53).

In 1868 Henry Moule, a clergyman in Dorset published an aptly named book *Our Home Heathen: How Can the Church of England Get at Them?* in which he explained how the clergy should follow the example of Missionary societies and set an example in persuading people to abandon heathenism and attend church.

However, in Lincolnshire at the end of the century, things had not improved. Heanley, wrote a piece to draw attention to the “mingling of rank paganism with medieval Christianity” (1891, p. 134) in which he outlined an incident in which a wise-woman evoked not only the Trinity but also Pagan deities in a charm. He later confirmed in a letter to *Folklore* that “in the Lincolnshire marshes...underneath a thin veneer of Christianity there still exists a solid foundation of pure paganism...”(1898, p. 186). Similarly Atkinson noted that folklore observances were still common in Lincolnshire and the north within the previous ten to fifteen years (1891, p. 128) and Hissey reported that witchcraft was said to be practised and the devil was supposed to haunt Lincolnshire churchyards in the shape of a toad (1898, p. 223).

Peacock described the Lincolnshire population as having “little poetic susceptibility” and the folklore as having “little or no originality” (1901, p. 161). However, she did

---

<sup>70</sup> Messingham is 8 miles by road from Redbourne.

note that “Every village and hamlet possesses its own variant of some of the popular superstitions of Europe” and hoped that there would be people to go out and collect this folklore (1901, p. 180). Peacock also recognised that “nature-deities appear to have fallen out of memory soon after their overthrow but the far older shamanism with which they had become connected has not yet entirely vanished”. She stated that “at the present time fairies are seldom heard of, but in earlier days it was not unusual to encounter them” (1901, p. 170).

Heanley recorded the comments of a woman in the Marshland who believed that

Prayers is good enuff ez fur as they goas, but t' Awmoighty mun be strange an' throng wi' soa much corn to look efter, an' in these here bad toimes we moan't fergit owd Providence. Happen, it's best to keep in wi' both parties (1903, pp. 45-46).

Rudkin found that at Bishops Norton in mid-May “Old Tetty used to...walk two miles to a certain field to gather cowslips” these she would then make into a ball, or balls,<sup>71</sup> and 'throw' them over her small cottage. Tetty would also recite a rhyme while she did the throwing, but this has not been recorded nor has the reason for her actions (1933b, p. 286). Sutton was told by an old lady from Thimbleby, near Horncastle that the ritual of throwing balls over the cottages was to get the sun “to buck its ideas up” (1999).

Regarding local stories concerning belief, Kitchen, in his biography reminisced about listening to the tales of a Lincolnshire man, when he was a young boy living and working on farms in Nottinghamshire:

Harry would tell stories of witches. He was a ‘Lincy’, and his county seemed noted for witches and boggarts... if anyone had expressed a doubt about the truth of them, the whole company would have verified the truth by saying, ‘I’ve eered my dad tell of ‘im mony a time’, of ‘My grandfeyther ewsed to work on t’vary same plaice!’ Indeed it was impossible to doubt, there were so many people who knew these people or ‘knew people who knew these people’. It made a great impression on me, especially the witches and boggarts. Whenever I had to go along the dark lane to the village I thought of them. The conclusion I came to was that Yorkshire was a land of giants and blue-devils, Lincolnshire was over-run with witches and boggarts...(Kitchen, 1940, p. 62).

Jones felt that most of the local stories were “persistent remnants” of old beliefs. He found that

---

<sup>71</sup> Opie & Tatum found evidence from Dorset, Herefordshire and Somerset from 1889 to 1922 of children playing with cowslip balls (known as tisty-tosties, whilst reciting the rhyme “Tisty-tosty, tell me true, Who shall I be married to?” (1989, p. 13; Kear 2000, p. 88; Vickery 1978, p. 155).

there is a wondrous charm about the old stories that makes them live on bravely, though the tellers don't believe them... it is with a strange thrill the collector hears the old woman by the cottage fire, or the sturdy labourer in the country lane, tell in their own way, stories (Jones, 1889, p. 167).

#### **2.4.8 The Effect of Education and Religion on Superstitious Belief**

Evans-Wentz noted the effect of education on belief in fairies and how it had “caused those lower classes... to be ashamed of it, and to despise and endeavour to forget it” (1911, p. 146). These beliefs echoed the opinions of the Grimms who specifically blamed the missionaries and the priests for causing the fairy lore around the world to gradually vanish (Kemenetsky, 1992, p. 204). Peacock felt that the “old methods of thought” were about to take “new shapes in accordance with the necessities of the average school-boarded intellect” (1901, p. 179).

In many cases the Inspectors of schools commented on the “subterranean paganism of the rural poor” (Johnson, 1970, p. 106) and Gutch related how the action of the HM inspector in Yorkshire was deliberately using peer pressure to eradicate belief in ghosts:

...he said to the children "Now I just want to see what you can do in composition. I will give you a subject. It is a ghost story. You have heard of ghosts. Do you believe there are such things as ghosts? A little fellow, to whom the question was put, began to wriggle about and look uncomfortable, but he soon mustered courage to say "No, sir." "Well," said Mr. Markheim, "I dare say some of the others are of a different opinion. Hands up, those who believe in ghosts." But the children made no sign. "Perhaps you don't quite understand," said Mr. Markheim. "Now," - this he said very slowly - "Hands up, those who don't believe in ghosts," and up went every hand immediately, "Bless me," the Inspector, "why you are a lot of sceptics. You are far in advance of the children at Whitby. I put the same question to a class there the other day and there was quite a majority in favour of ghosts! (Gutch, 1901, p. xii).

Newman, of The Eastern Counties Folklore Society, observed that “the spread of education led to a wilful and deliberate attempt to stamp out the old rural culture...”<sup>72</sup> Walsham described the alliance of “schoolmasters and steam engines” that had swept aside such “noxious notions” as the belief in ghosts and witches (2008, p. 200). Within the legend of *Tiddy Mun*, the narrator commented on how she could not tell her story within the hearing of her grandchildren.

---

<sup>72</sup> Eastern Counties Folklore Society Records item 14.2 page 107. Russell echoed these sentiments (2002, p. 1) and Bringham also commented that Religion and Education had left its mark on the narrative tradition of the Haida Myhtellers (1999, p. 149).

However, the lack of belief in the superstitions of the past did not put a damper on the imagination of the children. The log book of Redbourne School, records the punishment of two children in 1873, for “falsely reporting having witnessed the murder of a child on their road home from school.”<sup>73</sup>

## **2.5 DIET, HEALTH, DRINK AND OPIUM ADDICTION IN LINCOLNSHIRE**

“...it is only here and there that one can find traces of the poor ague-shaken, I fear all the men who can get it – will drink gin. But the days are gone by when the one or the other was in constant and daily need, to still the shaking or deaden the misery born of the fever-mists and stagnant pools” (Balfour 1891, p.147).

### **2.5.1 The Diet and Drinking habits of the Rural Poor**

“LINCOLNSHIRE (CASE NO 248)

Breakfast – milk, gruel or bread and water or tea and bread.

Dinner – meat for husband only; others vegetables only.

Tea and Supper – bread or potatoes”

(Smith, 1864, p. 249)<sup>74</sup>

The above quote from a report to the Privy Council, outlines the typical diet for a poor family in Lincolnshire in 1863.<sup>75</sup> The author had carried out his investigations into the diet of the rural poor prior after extensive drainage had changed the economy of the area. Prior to this there was a much more diverse diet available for the people of the Lincolnshire Carrs, with the availability of fishing and fowling and common grazing pasture land on the floodplains.

Early in the nineteenth century, prices had fallen, but unemployment had risen. As a consequence the poaching of game birds, hares and rabbits had increased in Lincolnshire, as had the amount of stealing of hens, sheep and foodstuffs to the point where in some areas thefts were regular occurrences, almost nightly (Richardson, 1993, p. 9).

The situation had barely changed in 1863 when Smith’s enquiry found that for the poor the principal diet was bread, and the average quantity per adult was 12.25lbs (5.5kg) per

---

<sup>73</sup> Log book p. 4.

<sup>74</sup> Smith, 1864, XXVII.

<sup>75</sup> The example quoted is for the “Manthorpe family of 5 children over the age of 10 years, 3 under 10 and 6.5 adults, all in very good health.”

week (Burnett, 1968, p. 140). This bread was of a much drier, coarser type than today and the scarcity of yeast in rural areas often meant that the loaves were unleavened. In many poor families it would be eaten dry for two days each week. In some areas the bread would be supplemented by oatmeal which would be used to make gruel, though this could be as expensive as wheat flour.

In the mid-nineteenth century potatoes had become a staple for many families with the average consumption per adult being 6lb (2.75kg) per week in 1863 (Burnett, 1968, p. 141). These would be boiled to provide a hot addition to the minimal amount of meat that could be afforded – 1lb (453g) per adult per week in 1863. In the poorest households this was often a sheep's head and pluck<sup>76</sup> or half a cow's head, which would not only provide for Sunday dinner but also broth and dripping for the week.

Sunday dinner was likely to be the only time when a family would eat together, and most would endeavour to have a quantity of meat, of which any leftover could be given to the 'breadwinner' to sustain him, when he was out in the fields. He would consistently receive the biggest quantities, particularly of the meat, and his wife and children would often subsist on bread, potatoes and cups of tea. Smith was to comment that "The labourer eats meat and bacon almost daily whilst his wife and children may eat it but once a week" (Burnett, 1968, p. 142).

As observed within the tale of *Fred th' Fool*, farm servants who boarded with their employers were more fortunate than those who travelled to and from their place of work, as they often ate at the farmer's table. Research has shown however, that at times when food became expensive it was more common for them to be 'boarding out' (Oddy, 1990, p. 286).

Quantities of fruit and green and root vegetables (often home grown) alongside nuts (gathered in season), fish and other seafood, particularly herrings were also eaten by the rural poor to supplement the bread, potato and occasional meat diet. However, as some of these foods were seasonal and could not be easily stored, there may often have been a 'hungry gap' in the late winter and early spring (Oddy, 1990, p. 251).<sup>77</sup>

As the century progressed, so food retailing increased particularly the sale of

---

<sup>76</sup> Lungs and intestines.

<sup>77</sup> Those with money to spend could purchase dried peas and pulses to sustain them through this lean period.

commodities such as bacon, cheese, butter, tea, margarine and sugar<sup>78</sup> (Oddy, 1990, p. 254). From 1875, and particularly from 1885, imports of tinned meat, fruit and condensed milk became available at cheaper prices than fresh home produced sources (Rowbotham & Clayton, 2009, p. 1238). Sugar at this time was consumed at a rate of 7.5 oz. (200g) per adult per week but was seen as a luxury by the poorer classes, who often purchased cheaper treacle instead (Burnett, 1968, p. 14).

By the 1890s families spent over half of their income on food, of which 20% was on carbohydrates and 29% on meat, though as meat was expensive, it only provided 11% of total food eaten (Oddy, 1970, p. 322). Experts at the time recommended that people spend their money on a greater variety of food including vegetables and milk, but there appears to have been some prejudice against such foods.

Regarding, liquid consumption, the preservation of rainwater for drinking was often a problem and water from ponds and ditches could smell, taste and look unpalatable. Consequently water was purified by using spirits, and beer was also drunk for refreshment (Oddy, 1990, p. 265). The predominance of pubs, alehouses and tap rooms provided places for the working man to relax and enjoy warmth and light. Alcohol played a major role in special occasions such as weddings, funerals and baptisms and could also help the people to forget pain and hardship.

Drinking to excess was common and in 1876 annual alcohol consumption peaked at 34 gallons per head of beer and 1.5 gallons of spirits (Oddy, 1990, p. 265). Consumption of gin, known as mother's ruin<sup>79</sup> due to its popularity with women, had reached epidemic proportions in the early eighteenth century, and was still popular in the nineteenth. Described by Carlyle as "liquid Madness sold at ten-pence the quatern," of the men who consumed the drink, the Chartist leader was even more graphic:

Gin the black throat into which wretchedness of every sort, consummating itself by calling on delirium to help it, whirls down; abdication of the power to think or resolve, as too painful now, on the part of men whose lot of all others would require thought and resolution...(Carlyle, 1840, p. 35).

The first Temperance Society was established in 1830 and it required its members to

---

<sup>78</sup> Alongside the decrease in the number of hours spent in the home by women working in the fields or children attending school is believed to have led to a decrease in the amount of food prepared. In 1863 30% of households in Britain purchased their bread rather than baking it themselves (Burnett, 1968, p. 140).

<sup>79</sup> Gin was cheaply priced in the eighteenth century and its popularity was immortalised by Hogarth in his print *Beer Street and Gin Lane*.

swear a pledge of abstinence in the use of malted liquors.<sup>80</sup> Whilst the movement failed to make a big impact, it did encourage debate on drink and its associated problems. Non alcoholic cordials and ginger beer became available to support the temperance cause. Alongside this the supply of clean water became more widespread, and milk more readily available due to the use of rail transport. With clean water and milk more people were able to follow the habits of the upper classes and make tea.

By 1863 tea had become a staple of even the poorest families with the average consumption ½ oz. (14g) per adult weekly (Burnett, 1968, p. 142). Tea was often drunk, in a weak form, 2 or 3 times per day by women and children and might even be taken into the fields by the men instead of beer.<sup>81</sup>

The Temperance supporters gained influence on government policy and in 1872,<sup>82</sup> the Licensing Act required premises to be licensed and also made being drunk and disorderly in a public place an offence. With the addition of the imposition of restricted opening hours for public-houses purchasing alcohol became more difficult. However, to counter this, the Grocer's Licensing Act of 1872 allowed consumers to purchase alcohol for consumption in their own home.

## **2.5.2 The Effects of an Inadequate Diet**

Calculations have shown that the average poor rural labourer in Victorian Britain was consuming 2760 calories per day at a time when heavy manual labour should require at least 1000 more. As mentioned above, women and children would consume considerably less. This would have restricted physical growth, decreased physical output and impaired health (Oddy, 1990, p. 274). It has been argued that many labourers would have existed in a state of chronic exhaustion and been frequently ill.

Oddy pointed out that it is difficult to disentangle the link between food consumption and illness but nutritional deficiency diseases such as rickets and scurvy were common and gastrointestinal fevers and tuberculosis were endemic throughout the nineteenth century, particularly in females. When bread prices rose or the harvest failed, there were epidemics of typhus<sup>83</sup> (1990, p. 275; Anderson, 1990, p. 19).

---

<sup>80</sup> 1933 quote from Carter *The Pub in Literature* [online].

<sup>81</sup> Coffee was much less popular as it tended to need the addition of milk and sugar which were often omitted in tea.

<sup>82</sup> *The Pub in Literature* [online].

<sup>83</sup> The Glanford Brigg Union report for half year ending 29 September 1887 noted that there had previously been a large number of cases of typhoid fever and that "certain villages on the skirts of the

However, a recent analysis of the diet of specifically mid Victorian agricultural labourers by Rowbotham & Clayton argues that once the country had recovered from the period of starvation known as the 'hungry forties' and before processed food and cheap sugar had become widely available, the population, though they may be hungry, were actually fit and healthy. Navvies, they point out, "could (when in work) routinely shovel up to 20 tons of earth per day from below their feet to above their heads" (2008a, p. 285).

By the end of the century 50% of young working-class recruits for the second Boer War were judged as so malnourished as to be unfit for service. They were not starved but had been eating foods that failed to provide sufficient nourishment. Malnutrition had not been a problem 20 years earlier in the recruitment for the Asante (1873-4) and Zulu (1877-8) Wars when the population ate lots of fruit, vegetables, nuts and seafood (Rowbotham & Clayton, 2008b, p. 353).

Whatever the nutritional state, with regard to the health of the population, it is also important to consider that the small, overcrowded damp cottages, with inadequate sanitation, would have had an effect on the health of the population (Huggett, 1972, p. 77).

### **2.5.3 Medical provision in Redbourne and District**

In the nineteenth century, within the field of medical care, the old order of physicians, surgeons and apothecaries was replaced by a new phenomenon, the general practitioner (Parry, 1976, p. 104; Digby, 1999, p. 2). This main provider of medical care was likely to be a fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, a graduate, who was almost certainly the son of a clergyman or from a gentry family.

James Craig Balfour, the son of a notable Doctor of Medicine, gained his qualifications in Edinburgh. As Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians and Licentiate of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1880, he was also a Fellow of the Obstetrical Society of Edinburgh.<sup>84</sup> His Scottish medical training was highly valued as it would have prepared him well for the tasks required for general practise.<sup>85</sup> During the

---

Ancholme Level were considered to be 'fever villages'" The report also noted that a combination of better drainage and the Sanitary Acts were probably the reason for improvements in health. Box 17 Rex Russell Papers.

<sup>84</sup> Information from the British Medical Association.

<sup>85</sup> Even back in 1739 their training instructed them "not only in all the main branches of medicine but also in anatomy and surgery, botany, chemistry as applied to pharmacy, and midwifery" (Parry, 1976,



nineteenth century the number of Scottish medical men migrating south increased considerably (Guthrie, 1961, p. 155).

In 1858, the Medical Act established state registration for qualified doctors, though it did not specify the theories of medicine or surgery practised (Frazer, 1950, p. 229). At this time general practitioners scaled their fees so that the wealthier paid more, yet despite this, the charges were still often too expensive for the poorer members of the population. The only way such people could get medical treatment without incurring vast expenses was through the Poor Law Medical Officers, the Dispensary Doctors or by being a member of a private medical insurance club.

Provision within the Public Health Acts required that Medical Officers be assigned to each district (Novak, 1973, p. 452). Poor Law Unions in rural areas would seek tenders for medical provision to include medicine with separate fees being charged for procedures, including confinements. The doctor would be expected to use a room in their house as a surgery and another as a waiting room (Brightfield, 1961, p. 241).

The doctor would also need to keep more than one horse in order to ensure that he could cover long distances to care for patients who may be living in isolated and poor conditions (McConaghey, 1961, p. 137). He often employed an assistant surgeon, or even a surgeoness and a midwife plus a village woman to help with deliveries. Pauper women might also be engaged to nurse patients with serious illness, chronic disease and accident cases. These women might also be required to dress wounds and would sometimes gain the name of 'wise woman.' (Digby, 1994, p. 231)

To save money, the poor would often go to the dispensary to buy medicine if they were suffering from illness.<sup>86</sup> If this medicine did not work they would then see the doctor (Crane, 1989, p. 122) who would then, almost certainly, prescribe opiates as these were the most important painkillers and soporifics of the time. More will be said about these opiates later.

As the century progressed, the state began to encourage the development of private medical insurance schemes. It was generally the men who were covered and for a small

---

p. 104).

<sup>86</sup> There were three types of dispensary doctors – public (attached to the infirmaries); charitable (provided by religious groups) and private dispensaries (Crane, 1989, p. 119). The private dispensaries charged 6d for medicines, which was much cheaper than the 2 shillings normally charged for a consultation with a doctor. The nearest chemists/druggists to Redbourne were at Brigg and Kirton.

weekly sum a patient could see the doctor whenever they needed to. The doctor could also care for their families privately, though it was found that some doctors offered treatment for free viewing the patient's recovery as reward enough<sup>87</sup> (Digby, 1994, p. 251). From 1885 free Poor Law health care was available to all who could not afford to pay for it, whether or not they received poor relief.

Regarding the life of a country doctor, Brightfield collated fictional accounts, which can give some idea of the experience that J.C. Balfour may have had whilst in Redbourne:

His broken rest, long rides or drives through darkness, rain, and snow, and searching winds, are counted as nothing. His earnest watching's of every phase of varying disease, his noble courage, which faces contagion in all its dreadful forms; his patient bearing towards all, and the exercise of skill and knowledge, acquired by years of study and astute observation... (Lemon, 1864 quoted in Brightfield, 1961, p. 246)

Brightfield also described the sympathetic 'bedside manner' of the doctor:

The visits of sympathy were paid to sufferers whom he could not help, but who were comforted by his presence, and by the privilege of telling out all their troubles to an unwearied and understanding ear... (Smedley, 1865 quoted in Brightfield, 1961, p. 246)

An important duty of the village doctor was the care of the elderly. The workhouse<sup>88</sup> was often a place where the elderly would end their days but in Redbourne there was space for elderly people living with their families and for some elderly villagers living in two-roomed alms-houses in the village.<sup>89</sup> Alongside this, the census returns show that two families within the village were looking after 'imbecile'<sup>90</sup> children and one couple

<sup>87</sup> This was the case for Gunn who was born in 1861, trained in medicine in Edinburgh, and wrote of his experience as a general practitioner. He would see poor patients who applied and refused none but had 40% bad debts (2002, p. 117). Digby noted that doctors, having taken the Hippocratic oath were unlikely to refuse to treat a destitute accident case. They also saw treating the poor as a way to gain experience and a reputation for successful treatments (1994, p. 250).

<sup>88</sup> Redbourne was under the Glanford-Brigg Union. The Medical officer of Health in 1889 was George Todd (LRCP Edinburgh) of 7 Market Place, Brigg. The workhouse, in Wrawby Road, Brigg, could accommodate 200 people. There were 132 inmates in 1881 and 97 in 1891, none were from Redbourne.

<sup>89</sup> The 1881 census lists two paupers, Ann Burgess aged 74 and Ann Ingram aged 75, both widows living alone and next to each other. These women are also received outdoor relief from the Glanford Brigg Union in 1886 & 1887. The 1891 census shows that Ann Burgess was still in the village but Ann Ingram house now seems to be occupied by Ann Allison (who also received poor rate in 1886 & 87). Poor rate books in the Rex Russell Papers box 13). The 1871 census also shows an elderly blind woman (Mary Thompson, age 75) living with her 77 year old retired agricultural labourer husband, in the village.

<sup>90</sup> The term 'imbecile' acquired its meaning of mentally weak in the early nineteenth century (Mental Health History Words) [online]. The census differentiated between Imbecile, Idiot or Lunatic.

were caring for their 53 year old daughter who had been deaf and dumb from birth.<sup>91</sup>

#### **2.5.4 Opium and Relief of the Ague**

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the Fens and Carrs were unhealthy places where large numbers of the working population of the countryside were prone to the “three scourges ...ague, poverty and rheumatism” (Berridge, 1999, p. 40). Sufferers of the ague, a form of malarial fever that is no longer found in the UK, experienced intermittent and severe shivering which shook the whole body and was accompanied by intense pain in the limbs. The best way to alleviate the painful symptoms was through the use of opium,<sup>92</sup> but the withdrawal symptoms experienced when the taking of opium ceased were also shaking of the limbs, which prompted the sufferer to believe the ague had returned and to take more opium.

Whitley, in his report to the Privy Council in 1864, noted the prevalence of ague and other malarious diseases prevailing in the principle marsh districts of England (1864, p. 430).<sup>93</sup> For the town of Brigg he found scarcely any cases and in Barton on Humber ague, though no longer a problem, had been common before the Axholme drainage had been carried out. It can be assumed that the situation would have been the same in the Ancholme Valley.

Referring to the Fens further south, Whitley observed that:

the first effect of the improved drainage of the large Fen districts...especially those which were formerly constantly covered with water...has been to rather increase the prevalence of ague, was reasonably to be expected, in as much as a much larger surface of decaying vegetable matter has thus been exposed to the action of sun and air (Whitley, 1864, p. 438).

The infection was caused by mosquitoes which were attracted to the decomposing vegetation that was alternately covered and uncovered by water and that was stagnant during summer. Before drainage the wetlands would also have sheltered predators which would feed on the mosquito larvae. As the fens were drained, and the

---

<sup>91</sup> The 1881 census shows that 53 year old Betsy Walker, who had been deaf and dumb from birth, lived with her parents on a farm at Cliff. Anne Bell (aged 8) and Harriet Cavell, (age 11) both imbecile from birth, lived with their parents at Pyewipe and Stoneham.

<sup>92</sup> Quinine was an alternative, approved method of easing symptoms of ague but needed a doctors prescription (Nicholls, 2000, p. 530). In 1865 quinine cost about 12 shillings an ounce whereas opium cost about the same price per pound (Berridge, 1979, p. 297).

<sup>93</sup> He noted that malarial disease was still found in low lying coastal areas including Sheerness, Gravesend and Faversham in Kent; Maldon in Essex; Wisbech, Whittlesea and Peterborough in the Cambridgeshire Fens; Spalding, Holbeach and Long Sutton in Lincolnshire, Chedzoy and Wells, in Somerset.

environment changed, the malaria carrying mosquito population would move to small pools of water including water filled hoof prints. Without the population checks they would multiply in huge numbers, carrying the ague with them (Horn, 1987, p. 13).

### **2.5.5 Opium Addiction in the Lincolnshire Fens and Carrs**

As noted above, the best relief for ague symptoms was opium. Conveniently, the white opium poppies, from which the liquid/tincture was used to produce laudanum for the London drugs market, were a familiar sight in cottage gardens in the Fens and Carrs. The poppies could also be used to make poppyhead tea (Patterson, 1985, pp. 31-32) or ground into a thick paste of which small quantities would be eaten. Those that did not have their own supply of opium could purchase supplies, in the chemist's shops, which saw queues every Saturday evening.

In 1834 Reverend Robert Ousby, curate of Kirton Lindsey, commented that opium taking had "become very common" but that he had "not heard of it till within these two or three years." The Select Committee on Drunkenness also came to this conclusion (Berridge, 1977a, p. 275). So what had prompted this epidemic?

As noted in the history section (2.3), proposals to widen, deepen and straighten the River Ancholme and to turn adjacent land from pasture to arable land, were put forward in 1826. Assuming these works would have taken a couple of years to complete and, allowing time for the increase in malaria to be noticed, this could have been a contributory factor.

Along with this (and also covered in the history section), the Poor Law Amendment Act pushed people into working longer hours and women to leave children to go out to increase family income. There has been speculation that, at a time when the diet of the majority of agricultural labours was inadequate, and the work arduous, poppyhead tea<sup>94</sup> would have provided a means of escape from hunger and "daily drudgery" (Warren, 1985, pp. 61-67).

Another contributing factor was the expansion of the British Empire into India which soon began to provide a good source for the provision of pure opium. Permission was granted by London for the cultivation of the poppies and by 1832 a report commented that "the monopoly of opium in Bengal supplies the government with a revenue

<sup>94</sup> E. Peacock found that this drink was also known as poppy-tea or poppy-water (1889, p. 414). The scarlet corn poppy was also known as 'Head-ache' (1889, p. 263).

amounting in sterling money to £981,293 per annum”(Booth, 1996, p. 115).

The main market for the Indian opium was China, and indeed, during the years 1839-42 and 1856-58, the two Opium Wars were fought to preserve this source of income. As the war stopped trade in China, so an alternative market was cultivated in Britain. In 1840 two hundred thousand pounds of opium were brought to Britain from India and by 1860 the trade was over eighty eight thousand pounds. This solid opium was sent to chemists<sup>95</sup> and then re-packaged in the form of powders, syrups and most popularly, laudanum, which was, at that time, cheaper than beer or gin, and within the budget of the lowest-paid worker. Gradually the old home-made remedies were replaced by commercial opium and opium preparations (Berridge, 1979, p. 297) which were, by this time, reputed to cure many ills including not just the ague, but also insomnia, diabetes and diarrhoea (Filan, 2011, p. 58).

Wheeler noted that once the habit had been started it was found that “the system requires its stimulating effect to be kept up to its normal working capacity,” and in time, “there was not a labourer’s house...without its penny stick or pill of opium” (1868, p. 489). Local brewers or beer sellers even began to put opium into the beer.

As a consequence of the excessive consumption of opium, the death rate began to rise, and an investigation for the Privy Council was informed that in 1863

a man in South Lincolnshire complained that his wife had spent a hundred pounds in opium since he married. A man may be seen occasionally asleep in a field leaning on his hoe...A man who is setting about a hard job takes his pill as a preliminary, and many never take their beer without dropping a piece of opium into it (Berridge, 1999, p. 40).

In 1864, Hunter investigated infant mortality and noted that the highest rates were in the low lying areas, “all of which lie on or near the mouths of the large rivers pouring into the North Sea from the Humber down to the Medway in Kent”. He traced the cause of the mortality to

the bringing of the land under tillage, that is, to the cause which had banished malaria, and has substituted a fertile though unsightly garden for the winter marshes and summer pastures of 50 or 100 years ago. It was generally thought that the infants no longer received any injury from soil, climate or malarious influences, but that a more fatal enemy had been introduced by the employment of

---

<sup>95</sup> A chemist in Louth, Lincolnshire would take delivery of a ‘malt loaf sized block’ of opium every Monday, which would be cut up into lumps of an inch by three-quarters of an inch. The average dose was half an ounce a week of solid opium or four ounces to half a pint of laudanum in the morning and the same in the evening. Many took more (Berridge 1979, p. 306).

the mothers in the field (Hunter, 1864, p. 455).

Hunter also acknowledged that women were cheaper to employ than men, and noted that if they had suckling babies they would leave them with others during the day, feed them in the evening, and then be too tired to wake for a night feed. Mothers, were found to be regularly dosing their children with either poppyhead tea or commercially produced opiates such as ‘Godfrey’s cordial’ or ‘Mother Bailey’s Quieting Syrup’<sup>96</sup> (Hayter, 1968, p. 31). Children, under the influence of opium did not feel hunger and became malnourished (Wohl, 1983, p. 35). Some children became “pallid and sunken eyed” as they became poisoned. Such children “shrank up into little men, others became wizened like little monkeys” and many died (Charles, 1956, p. 11; Hunter, 1864, p. 460).

By 1867 the British Medical Association had estimated that half the opium imported into the country was being consumed in Norfolk and Lincolnshire. The Government took action, and in 1868 The Pharmacy Act restricted the sale of opium to qualified pharmacists. This made it much harder for the masses to purchase opium, and though the death rate immediately fell, after a decade it began to rise again. However, the number of children dying from opium overdoses was dramatically reduced.<sup>97</sup>

Despite the restrictions, confirmed addicts still obtained their supplies. Johnson recalled that in 1870s in the Marshland, “most villages contained one or two confirmed addicts, who could be recognised by their yellow eyes and muddy complexions. One old man would buy opium, roll up a pellet and gulp it down before leaving the shop” (1837, p. 85). Berridge also found evidence from chemists trading at the end of the century that “most of their regular customers for the drug were elderly – old women who called in on a Saturday night...for a few drops of ‘lodlum’ to help them with their coughs and sleeping.”<sup>98</sup>

## **2.6 OPIUM, THE IMAGINATION AND BODIES IN THE BOGS**

“Were this the place, I might speak of the elaborate system for regulating the outlet of the water; of the yawning dykes that border or cross the roads, making them by no means safe on dark nights, holding, as they do, from two to ten feet of water and many more of shiny treacherous mud; or of the lonely dwellings along the Ancholme banks, only to be reached by a narrow bridle path, with bewildering lanes of water on either hand,...but I am more concerned at present with memories

---

<sup>96</sup> In the mid-nineteenth century there were at least ten proprietary brands of opium for infants.

<sup>97</sup> Berridge Online resource Chapter 10, *The 1868 Pharmacy Act*.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid Chapter 17, *Opium at the End of the Century*.

of the Cars as they once were, a wild desolate dreary marsh, full of strange sights and sounds, than as they now exist” (Balfour, 1891, p. 146).

“throughout the lower civilisation men believe, with the most vivid and intense belief, in the objective reality of the human spectres which they see in sickness or exhaustion, under the influence of mental excitement or of narcotic drugs”(Tylor, 1871, p. 402).

### 2.6.1 Opium and the Imagination

Research has shown that the feeling of ‘relaxation of tension and anxiety’ is one of the effects found by many who take opium (Hayter, 1988, p. 42). A doctor practising in Boston, Lincs in the early 1890s found a patient “apparently unconscious of everything excepting the strange visions floating through the sensorian and giving rise to the erratic movements and gestures” (Berridge, 1999, p. 45). He also noted that the colourless lives of the people “are temporarily brightened by the passing dreamland vision afforded them by the baneful poppy” which was nicknamed ‘elevation’ in some parts of the Fens.

History has sadly not preserved the first hand accounts of the experience of opium consumption by the labouring classes; however, the literary world has left us a number of descriptions including Thomas de Quincey's dramatic testimony.<sup>99</sup>

opium, which indeed seems to possess a specific power in that direction; not merely for exalting the colours of dream-scenery, but for deepening its shadows; and, above all, for strengthening the sense of its fearful realities... I seemed every night to descend — not metaphorically, but literally to descend — into chasms and sunless abysses, depths below depths, from which it seemed hopeless that I could ever reascend...(De Quincey 1862, pp. 149-151).

De Quincey believed that opium worked to enhance the imagination of the user and that “if a man 'whose talk is of oxen' should become an opium-eater, the probability is that... he will dream about oxen”(Hayter, 1968, p. 107). Hayter,<sup>100</sup> an academic researcher in this field qualified this by stating that opium cannot “give the power of vivid dreaming to those who have not got it already, and to those that have, the dreams and reveries that it brings will be mixed from the paints already on the palettes of the minds...” (1988, p. 46).

As will be shown in the later section on the folk beliefs, and is evidenced within the *Legends*, the people of the Fens and the Cars, were reared on superstitions and tales of

<sup>99</sup> Dante Gabriel Rossetti, similarly found that not only did his depression increase when he was given opium but he too began to suffer from hallucinations (Macht & Gessford, 1938, p. 39).

<sup>100</sup> Please note that during my research I have consulted both the first and second editions of Hayter - *Opium and the Romantic Imagination*.

the dangers of the watery places. These people may well have found their sensitivities to these places heightened while under the influence of opiates.

Another unfortunate consequence of repeated opium consumption is that over a period of time the doses need to be increased to get the same effect. Opium ‘addicts’ also find that their memory becomes less acute but hearing and sight can become enhanced to the point where bright lights and sudden noises become unbearable (Hayter, 1988, p. 54). Hayter described the waking visions of advanced addicts:

... decaying things, still faintly touched with the likeness of beings once loved, stir beside them in rotting debris; their children, as they kiss them, turn to skeletons. Wandering through huge caves, they are forced to step on rotting corpses, and thousands of faces made of blood-red flame flash up and die out in the darkness. They are watching faces everywhere, grinning up through sea-waves, stretching and lengthening and disintegrating ... (Hayter, 1988, p. 56).

As the paranoia increases, opium addicts even imagine that they are “being spied on, plotted against, shot at, beaten, sawn asunder, drowned.” These experiences sound similar to some of the more horrific parts of *Tiddy Mun* and *The Dead Hand*.

## **2.6.2 Bodies in the Bogs**

Records of “human bodies entire and uncorrupted” have been found in England since before 1700 and some bodies had been found in peat and bogs with their hands holding sticks or tufts of heather, as if they had been trying to pull themselves out (Coles and Coles, 1989, p. 11, p. 178). Bodies that become submerged in such watery places as bogs can be preserved for centuries due to the acidic and anaerobic conditions. The skin survives as a ‘leathery envelope’ around the decaying internal organs. (Meredith, 2002, p. 319; Ross & Robins, 1989, p. 21).

Turner and Briggs noted that well preserved bog bodies that appear to have been ritually sacrificed have been found in the Isle of Axholme, North Lincolnshire since 1747 and possibly even earlier (1986, p. 149). Other bodies may just have been people who wandered into the bog accidentally and sunk to their death. Such a body was found by a man digging for fuel on Amcotts Moor (Stonehouse, 1839, p. 380),<sup>101</sup> north of Crowle on the Isle of Axholme who was “...cutting a swai the some two yards deep when his spade met an obstruction. He dislodged the peat around the blockage and reeled back in horror for he was looking at a human skull”. The man at first fled in

---

<sup>101</sup> Amcotts Moor is just under 20 miles or 31 km as the crow flies from Redbourne.



horror and then returned to the scene to help uncover a complete skeleton standing in an upright position. The account submitted to *The Gentleman's Magazine* described the incident in some detail:

He next found the skin and thigh bones, which measured eighteen inches, then the skin of the lower parts of the body, which distinguished it to be a woman, afterwards the skin of the arm, which, when the bones were shaken out, was like the top of a muff; likewise a hand, with the nails as fresh as when alive, though they shrunk on being exposed to the air.<sup>102</sup>

They account also noted that the feet had suffered little decomposition and were still enclosed in sandals. These remains were later examined by the Society of Antiquaries and one of the sandals was sent to the Royal Society (Ella, 2009, p. 62-63). A paper was written on the find in 1992 and the shoe was found to date from the early Roman period.<sup>103</sup>

Peck recorded another find, also from the Isle of Axholme in which a man was found “lying at length, with his head upon his arm, as in common posture of sleep, whose skin being as it were tan'd by the moor-water, preserved his shape intire, but within, his flesh, and most of his bones were consumed and gone...” (1815, p. 7)

These are just two recorded finds that would have been common knowledge in the Isle of Axholme. During World War Two, peat cutters on nearby Hatfield Moor found many human and animal bones including at least one intact skull. These finds were disregarded due to the emergency situation.<sup>104</sup> Whilst there are no accounts of the digging up of bog bodies in the Ancholme Valley it is not inconceivable that there would have been awareness of such finds.

## **2.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

Within this chapter I have sought to contextualise the *Legends*. In Section 2.2 I have shown that the north of Lincolnshire is a district of diverse landscapes with sources of clay and stone to provide materials for building. It is also dominated by water at its boundaries and with the river Ancholme running through the centre. The valley of the River Ancholme, and the Isle of Axholme are both low lying areas that were once marshland but are now drained agricultural land. These areas are however, still at risk of

---

<sup>102</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1749, (19), p203.

<sup>103</sup> Email correspondence with Roman specialist Chris Lydamore and information online at the NOVA website.

<sup>104</sup> Informant from Haxey & Westwoodside History Society, November 2012.

flooding and pumps need to be maintained to keep the land dry. The village of Redbourne, once a marshy region, and later a thriving agricultural village, is now a picturesque settlement with few amenities but with a large number of historic buildings.

The following section (2.3) has also set the scene, but from an historical perspective. I have shown that drainage was first attempted in the seventeenth century but was not truly successful until the nineteenth century when it was supplemented by the use of steam pumps. The initial drainage works were carried out by Dutchmen and Scottish prisoners. Local people rebelled against this work as it changed their lives. The use of gang labour has also been outlined, and whilst this may not have directly involved the villagers, others were brought to work on the farms around the village from Kirton-in-Lindsey. As the nineteenth century progressed competition from abroad led to changes in the land use and to dissatisfaction being expressed in Lincolnshire and elsewhere, which at its most acute, led to cases of arson.

Within section 2.4 I explored the social improvements put in place to rid the population of their “gross habits, heathenism and barbarism”(Kay-Shuttleworth, 1973, p. 579). This would have included not just their 'pagan,' folkloric beliefs but also the local dialects. A school was built in Redbourne at the same time as the government was pushing for such initiatives throughout the country. When Brearley arrived in the village to take on the role of schoolmaster, he provided stability within the school and remained in the post for 41 years, though he was unable to stop the absences for attending fairs and carrying out agricultural duties, or children leaving the school when they reached the permitted Standard IV. Despite the fact that the Inspectors were making efforts to reduce superstitious belief, it appears that the children in the school were taught songs entitled '*The Moon*' and '*The Fairies Dance*' which may have influenced the content of stories told within the village. When they reached adulthood there does not appear to have been provision for continuing education, though being literate they would have been able to access this independently.

The Sunday services at St Andrews Church in Redbourne had more than average attendance, probably due to the influence of the landlords, the Dukes of St Albans. The parishioners would have been acutely aware of the biblical account of the Last Judgement due to the prominence of the stained glass window within the church, and quite likely from the sermons of Rev. Harrison who remained within the village for forty four years. I have also shown that both clergymen and folklorists, noted that the

people were quite capable of sustaining two sets of apparently contradictory beliefs, unless, of course the faith had been destroyed by the gradual influence of education.

In section 2.5 I have set the scene with regards to the health of the population of North Lincolnshire. I have also shown the reasons why so many people became addicted to opium, which was initially prescribed to alleviate the effects of the ague which had increased in the period immediately following the improved drainage of the Ancholme Valley. This need for opium was served, firstly by home-grown remedies and then by large quantities of imported Indian grown opium, which flooded into the country in the years when the Chinese market was closed due to the Opium Wars. The whole situation was aggravated by the increased demands placed on young mothers to assist with working on the newly drained lands and their desire to medicate their babies and children to make them easier to care for.

I have also explored the role of the doctor within the rural community and within Redbourne village, where Balfour's husband was the general practitioner. I will explore the place that the doctors waiting room might have had in the collection of the *Legends* in a later chapter.

Within section 2.6 I have shown that excessive consumption of opium would have had a marked effect on the imagination and that this, coupled with a pre-existing fear of the marshland where there were believed to exist malevolent creatures, which will be explored within the section on folk beliefs, could have led to the inclusion of the darker aspects of some of the *Legends*, such as those found in the *Dead Moon* and *Tiddy Mun*.

I finally noted the discovery of bog bodies in the Isle of Axholme, a similar landscape, not far from Redbourne. It is also not difficult to imagine that the knowledge that bodies do not decompose when submerged in the marsh would have added to the existing fears mentioned above.

### 3 THE COLLECTION OF THE *LEGENDS*, THE TELLERS AND THEIR NARRATIVES

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

It has only been within the last fifty years that the whole storytelling performance and the cultural significance of the tale, has been regarded as being as important as the actual words (Philip, 2003, p. 45; Holbek, 1987, p. 75; Fine, 1984, p. 18). This chapter seeks firstly to provide a definition of the art of storytelling in the nineteenth century. This will be followed by an attempt to ascertain the likelihood that *Legends* were gathered from the oral tradition and from North Lincolnshire. As the tales have been regarded as noticeably different from other stories, it is most appropriate that, in addition to consulting the traditional tale and motif indexes, I also look at folklore and tale collections that were not included in the indexes. I will also take an exploratory approach in the examination of the narratives and the introductions, to search for clues to the collecting methods, the tellers and details of the performances. I will also examine the dialect to see if, though poorly recorded, it fits with the speech of the people of the North Lincolnshire.

Within the first section (3.2.1), after firstly exploring the definition of 'storytelling' using the evidence of Gillard (1995), Pellowski (1977) and Colwell (1989), I shall apply the research of scholars of folklore method to the *Legends* and the introductions, in an attempt to reconstruct the ways that Balfour may have collected, and transcribed the tales. Due to the restriction on space within this thesis, I will not explore the multitude of reasons why people tell stories within their communities, but will examine how Balfour found informants who were willing to tell her their tales (3.2.2). I will then look at the traditional venues for storytelling (3.2.3) and compare this to Balfour's fictional account of life within the Carrs, which bears much resemblance to life within the village of Redbourne.<sup>1</sup>

This will be followed (3.2.4-3.2.5) by an examination of the methods used to persuade informants to reveal their beliefs in the supernatural, even though in some cases, they acknowledged that their families showed disbelief. An exploration into recording techniques in the time before wax cylinders or electrical equipment will then be carried out (3.2.6) along with analysis of the clues about the performances found within the

---

<sup>1</sup> *The Fall of the Sparrow* (Appendix 6).

*Legends* (3.2.7). I will end the section with a close look at the attitude of Balfour to her informants (3.2.8) to gain a glimpse into her motivations for collating the *Legends* and sending them to *Folklore*.

A number of the primary sources used for this investigation have been mentioned earlier, including Gomme (1890), Peacock (1901), Apperson (1884), Jacobs (1894), Müller (1882), Lawson (1887) and Jefferies (1894, 1879). Other good, general sources include Holbek's (1987) examination of the collection of Danish folklore and Zimmerman's (2001) comprehensive look at storytelling in Ireland. Research on venues for storytelling will be enhanced by the work of historians Frank Huggett (1972), Neil Philip (1993), A. Roger Ekirch (2005) and Eric Cross (1999) and the techniques of finding willing informants, using folklorists with practical experience such as T.W. Thompson (1916), Charlotte Burne (1914), Linda Dégh (2001), Gillian Bennett (1999), Barre Toelken (1979), Henry Glassie (1982), Mike Wilson (1997), Mark Freeman (2001, 2005), Gary Butler (1990), A. L. Lloyd (1967) and Lauri Honko (1964). Regarding the performance strategies of the tellers, the most useful researchers are folklorist and anthropologist Richard Bauman (1992 & 1987); Canadian poet and language scholar Robert Bringhurst (1999); cultural historian, Robert Darnton (1984); scholar of English literature, Walter J. Ong (2002); historian Melanie Tebbutt (1997), Celtic scholar and folklorist, Patricia Lysaght (1991), linguistics Professor, Michael Toolan (1988) and ethnologist Ulf Palmenfelt (1993). Folklorist Dan Ben-Amos (1992) also covers the latter and the methods of writing up collected tales. Other scholars who have researched the transcription of folk tales include American folklorist Richard Dorson (1976), Grimm's scholar, Christa Kamenetsky (1992) and anthropologist Dennis Tedlock (1972), and those concerned with attitudes to informants include cultural historian Georgina Boyes (1993).

Within section 3.3, I will be dissecting the narrative content of the *Legends*. In the 1940s scholars were looking at the types of folk-tales and using the European comparative model (the Finnish historical-geographical method) for comparing as many different versions as possible without any consideration for the “context, informant or the stylistic features” (Fine, 1984, p. 28-29). Their aim, in the ideal situation, was to reconstruct the hypothetical “ur-form” or archetype, from which all other versions of a tale had diffused geographically and through time. This method soon became supported by the motif-indexes, of which Stith Thompson's (1955-1958) was the most

comprehensive. The aim of Thompson was to list a great variety of the motifs gathered from “representative collections from various cultures” (Thompson 1955, p. 6), and whilst it has proved to be a useful resource, the index did not include legends. This gap was partially filled by R.T. Christiansen (1958); however, as time has passed the views of scholars have changed, and folklorists Richard Bauman (1986, 1992), Dan Ben-Amos (1992), Alan Dundes (1999) and E.C. Fine (1984) have each demonstrated the need to be concerned with what can be learnt from examination of the narratives, and the performances, rather than just whether the stories fit the tale-types or have recognisable motifs.

For analysing whether the structures of the *Legends* conform to the acknowledged narrative structure of the oral tradition (3.3.1), I will again draw on the research of folklorists including Gary Butler (1990), Gillian Bennett (1989b & 1999), Axel Olrik (1965), Michael Toolan (1988) and Stith Thompson (1977 reprint of 1946), to compile a list of performative strategies. I will also closely analyse the texts<sup>2</sup> using Labov's six part model as outlined in Toolan (1988, p. 148) and present this analysis in a chart for ease of comparison. The chart will also include the application of Siikala's (1990) framework of the different styles used by narrators of traditional belief stories. Though opting for this approach, I must state that I am not trained in narratological methods, and so to someone from this discipline, my approach may seem unscientific.

The next part of this section (3.3.2) will contain an exploration of some of the ways that the *Legends* reflect aspects of the lives of the tellers or listeners, using many of the sources noted above, including Lloyd (1967) along with Glassie (1982), Darnton (1984), Siikala (1990), Dègh (2001), Philip (2003) and also note the philosophical essay by Walter Benjamin (1973 reprint of 1936). As folklore researcher Linda Ballard, curator of the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum, observed, storytellers tend to localise their narratives to make them more believable (1980, p. 37), and, as this appears to be the case with the *Legends*, historical investigations into the personal names and places mentioned within the texts will be carried out. The results could provide evidence to support the authenticity of the *Legends*. For this historical investigation, census records, map evidence, oral testimony and books on Lincolnshire history will be consulted.

---

<sup>2</sup> For this analysis I have assumed that whilst Jacobs modified the *Legends* sent to him for his fairy tale books, he did not do the same whilst editor of *Folk-Lore*. A detailed comparison between Jacobs version of the *Buried Moon* and *The Dead Moon* is in Appendix 13.

A search for parallels to the riddles and rhymes, and the significance of the cante-fable, a mixture of narrative and verse which was, and may still be, found around the world, will then be carried out in 3.3.3. Joseph Jacobs subscribed to the view that tales that contained traces of rhyme within them are likely to be the oldest form of story. It has also been acknowledged that rhymes provided important aids to memory. For this work, along with the writings of Jacobs (1894a), I will also consult the work of folk song researchers Francis Child (1882), Frank Kidson & Mary Neal (2011 reprint of 1915) and Edward Ives (1959), David Shuldiner (1978) to investigate rhymes and cante-fables. In addition to these, the definitive dictionary compiled by Archie Taylor (1951), plus Thomas Green (1992) and Ben Gray Lumpkin will be used to gain insights into the significance of the riddles within *A Pottle o' Brains*. The potential influences upon the story of *The Dead Moon* will also be explored using Gomme, A. (1884) and Hullah (1875).

For the penultimate part of this section (3.3.4), in which I will seek for parallels to the *Legends*, I will refer to a number of Motif-Indexes, commencing with the motifs noted by Katharine Briggs (1969) in addition to Ernest Baughman (1966), Aarne & Thompson (1961) and Thompson (1995, 1955-58). Alongside these, I will explore the Tale-Type lists of Christiansen (1958) Halpert & Widdowson (1996) as well as Seán O'Súilleabháin (1942). From this I will compile a list of the motifs within the *Legends* using Thompson (1955-1958) as this is by far the most comprehensive.<sup>3</sup>

The section will end with the use of the Tale-Types and Motif-indexes as a starting point for the consultation of a number of other collections, including the primary sources of Jacobs (1890), Thiselton-Dyer (1878), Heanley (1891), Crossing (1890), alongside later works of Thomas (1909), Burne (1910), Sharman (1952), Rudkin (1954), Briggs (1969), Wynne (1976), Gee (1953), Grice (1951), Westwood (1992), Crossley-Holland (1993), Bennett (2010) and Purkiss (2000).

As has been noted within the previous section, the *Legends* contain a large number of folklore motifs that can be found within the various indexes, including those of Baughman (1966) and Thompson (1955-58). However, whilst these provide some proof that these parts of the *Legends* are not unique, they do not cover all of the folkloric elements or indeed fix them to Lincolnshire, and so within this section, I will endeavour in section 3.4 to show that much of the evidence can be found in the county, in folklore

---

<sup>3</sup> This table is Appendix 8.

collections or other sources. If matches can not be located in Lincolnshire records then those of neighbouring areas such as the Fens to the south and Yorkshire to the north will be consulted<sup>4</sup>, and in some cases, the search will be taken further afield. I will also, endeavour to seek evidence that is unlikely to have been influenced by the *Legends*.<sup>5</sup>

Because the evidence is so diverse and extensive within the *Legends*, I have chosen to group similar pieces of evidence together rather than analyse the content of each *Legend* individually. The categories chosen are based on the County Folklore (Gutch & Peacock 1908), Natural and Inorganic Objects (3.4.1): Stones, Rivers, The Dark and The Moon, Flowers, Birds; Goblinhood (3.4.2): Ghosts, Manifestations, Fairies, Hobs; Witchcraft and the Evil-Eye (3.4.3); Charms and Spells (3.4.4); Magic and Divination (3.4.5); followed by Yule customs (3.4.6) and Norse influences (3.4.7).

Published sources used for this section include nineteenth century, primary sources, by Lincolnshire folklorists: M Peacock (1891 & 1901), Heanley (1891 & 1903), Swaby (1891), as well as Saunders (1891) and Jones (1890, 1891). Research produced in Lincolnshire in the early 1900s includes Gutch & Peacock (1908), Penny (1915 & 1922), Rudkin (1933-1954) and more recent folklorists include Maureen Sutton (1997-2007) and Codd (2007 & 2010). Alongside this, I will look at collections of Yorkshire folklore including Atkinson (1891), Addy (1891) and Gutch (1901, 1912), and the Fens, including James Wentworth Day (1954a), W.H. Barrett (1963 & 1964), L.F. Newman (1946) and Enid Porter (1969).

For general folklore research, the works of prominent folklorists were consulted, including Thoms (1878), Gomme (1883a & b), Gunmere (1892), Thistleton Dyer (1878, 1889), Thompson (1995 reprint of 1932), Keightley (1870), Spence (1946), Douglas (1966), Widdowson (1971), Opie & Tatum (1989), Meredith (2002), Roud (2003) and Warner (2007) alongside studies of popular religious belief by Keith Thomas (1991 reprint of 1971) and Eamonn Duffy (1992), supplemented by Owen Davies (1999) for witchcraft.

Archives consulted include the Peacock and Rudkin archives at Scunthorpe Museum, the audio and written archives of the National Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language at the University of Sheffield; the Institute of Dialect and Folklife Studies, as

---

<sup>4</sup> Yorkshire was also a county that had extensive fenland at one time (Rotherham, 2010).

<sup>5</sup> This has meant the exclusion of some pieces of potential evidence, particularly items in *Lincolnshire Life Magazine*.



well as the Katherine Briggs Collection, at the University of Leeds and the papers of the Eastern Counties Folklore Society at Cambridge University Library. The most useful and enlightening source for the purpose of this thesis is the unpublished notes of Mabel Peacock, edited by Bennett for the Folklore Society (2010).

Within section 3.5, I will firstly explore the history of linguistics and the Dialect Society (3.5.1), including the importance of the Peacock family, as primary collectors of such information within Lincolnshire, before examining the reasons why Balfour chose to record the *Legends* in dialect (3.5.2), and the problems inherent in such recording (3.5.3). I will then examine the methods used by Balfour to transfer the stories from her brief notes into the dialect form that was submitted to *Folk-Lore*. This will be followed by a comparison of the dialect used in the *Legends* with the glossaries of Lincolnshire to assess whether the words and expressions are from the area. The dialect spoken in this part of the county in the late nineteenth century was known to be strikingly similar to that found north of the Humber<sup>6</sup> and so glossaries for Yorkshire will similarly be searched. This section will conclude with an examination of the texts to look for patterns of usage and inaccuracies; the inclusion of Scottish and Norse words (3.5.4) and analysis of the last three of the *Legends* (3.5.6).

For the history of linguistics I will consider the work of Tom McArthur (1998 online) and Eileen Elder (1997) and for the drive to record dialect within stories, Ruth Michaelis-Jena (1971), Christa Kamenetsky (1992), E.S. Hartland (1891) and Dennis Preston (1982) were consulted. Regarding the problems involved in rendering spoken language in written form, I will refer to the work of a number of scholars used elsewhere within this thesis, including Bauman (1986), Tedlock (1983), Toelken (1979), Preston (1982) and Widdowson (1978) and in order to verify that the language is accurate to the place, I will first use the definitive guides to Lincolnshire dialect, namely Peacock's *Glossary* (1889) and the *Peacock Lincolnshire Word Books* as edited by Elder (1997). The Peacocks not only resided in the north of the county, but were also persistent in the collection of folklore and dialect and meticulous in their record keeping. However, these collections are not comprehensive, particularly for words that were closer to normal speech, and so other nineteenth century works will be consulted including John Ellet Brogden (1866), Edward Sutton (1881) and Jabez Good (1973

---

<sup>6</sup> Streatfeild noted that whilst there were different dialects in the North and South of Lincolnshire, there was "no distinction to be observed between the districts North and South of the Humber" (1884, p. 267).

reprint of 1900). These studies will be supplemented with some newer dialect surveys including G. Edward Campion (1976) and Joan Sims-Kimbrey (1996). The fully searchable online version of Marmaduke Morris' (1892) *Yorkshire Folk-Talk* will be used to assist with those words that were more common in that county. The research will be used to compile a glossary which will form Appendix 2.

Laurence Anthony's AntConc 3.2.4 programme will then be used to produce word frequency lists, search for words or phrases within the *Legends* and to display key-word-in-context concordances. AntConc is a Unicode compliant freeware concordance programme<sup>7</sup> developed by Laurence Anthony of Waseda University, Japan, who was awarded the National Prize of the Japan Association of English Corpus Studies. This software tool also assisted with searching for the frequency of words of specifically 'Norse' origin, a list of which was gleaned from the research of George Streatfeild (1884). As I have pointed out within the narratology section, I am a novice with regards to Linguistics and so my investigations are limited, but I would hope that my findings will open the way for more skilled researchers<sup>8</sup>.

Within section 3.6.6 I will be searching for people who fitted the descriptions left by Balfour within her introductory texts. Before doing this I need to acknowledge the opinion of folktale scholars such as Dundes (1999) and Holbek (1987) who reason that the only 'genuine' tales are ones which have been taken down directly from a known 'genuine' teller (Brewer 2003, p. 17). It can be debated as to what the word 'genuine' means in this context as, due to the early decline in the popularity and importance of storytelling in England it is extremely difficult to find examples of professional tellers in the nineteenth century. There is insufficient space within this thesis for a debate of this nature and so I will resume my search for the tellers of the *Legends*.

Balfour left clues to the identities of the tellers of *Tiddy Mun* (3.6.1), *The Dead Moon*, *Sam'l's Ghost* (3.6.2), and *Yallery Brown* (3.6.3). She also collected *Tattercoats* in the same area and sent information on the teller of this to Jacobs<sup>9</sup> and so this will also be researched (3.6.4). Within the introduction Balfour stated that the *Legends* were collected whilst she lived in the Lincolnshire Carrs, close to the River Ancholme (p.149).<sup>10</sup> As has been noted before in this thesis, it is also clear from research that

---

<sup>7</sup> This is a free, easy to download and use, software programme.

<sup>8</sup> Some of this research is in Appendices 17, 18 and 19.

<sup>9</sup> An unsuccessful attempt to locate the notes of both Balfour and of Jacobs has been made.

<sup>10</sup> The *Legends* appear to be from ordinary people rather than the 'rural nursemaids' that Philip cited as

Balfour lived at some times during the years 1886-1888 within the village of Redbourne. Consequently parish records within the Lincolnshire Archives will be searched as will genealogical records at [ancestry.co.uk](http://ancestry.co.uk).

Balfour also informed the reader that *A Pottle o' Brains* was collected from the same person who told her *Coat of Clay* but no further details were given to enable a search for this teller. On a similar note, the narrator of *The Green Mist* informed Balfour that the tale had been told to him when he was a young boy by his father's grandfather and that the elder man had lived until he was nearly a hundred years old. He also added that the tale dated back to one hundred and thirty years ago. It might be possible to use genealogical resources to find men who lived into their late nineties, but as this would be before Civil Registration the search would only be fruitful if the parish clerk chose to record such details in the parish register. It would also take up much time as there are no clues as to the surname.

### **3.2 APPLYING RESEARCH TO THE COLLECTING OF THE LEGENDS**

“The people themselves are not easy to make friends with, for they are strongly suspicious of strangers; but once won over, are said to be staunch and faithful...” (Balfour 1891, p. 148).

“The clapperings of the steam-binder have killed it from the harvest-field; the board school master...slays it in the children... unknown in the drawing-room, hunted out of the school, chased by the chapel deacons, derided by the middle classes, and despised by those who have been uneducated...takes refuge in the fastnesses of tap-rooms, poor cottages and outlying hamlets...It is a treasure to be sought...”(Sharp & Marson, 1910, p. xi, referring to folk songs).

“In the Fenland there were once many people who could tell very 'tall' tales. They didn't really expect them to be believed though they would say they were 'Gospel Truth'. The tales would get more outlandish as each would try to out do the other round the taproom fire in the pubs on winter evenings” (Randell, 1966, p. 81).

#### **3.2.1 Towards a definition of Storytelling in the Nineteenth Century**

The Society for Storytelling defines the art of storytelling as “Stories are not learned by rote or read from books but retold by the tellers, making each interpretation

---

being a major source for English tales written down towards the end of the nineteenth century (1993, p. 93).

unique.”<sup>11</sup> They need this definition to differentiate the art-form of their members from other creatives, for the term 'Storyteller' is now used widely within the media to denote writers, actors who narrate a script and even film-makers. It is not the place here to argue that the definition of storytelling has an alternative meaning as a descriptor for one who tells 'lies',<sup>12</sup> but I will look at the history of the art of storytelling in a time before literacy.

Before writing the spoken word was the primary means of communication, the history and the laws of the people were passed on orally, often within stories, so that they would be easy to understand and recall. History was offered as story because of its ability to enable the narrative to remain in the mind long after the telling. Gillard eloquently described how “once students take history into their mouths and bodies, once they put on and feel its emotions, they no longer remain passive memorisers of its facts” (1995, p. 120). Stories, because they are remembered tend to be analysed and also involve the problem solver in the narrative. If the story is pitched at the right level then it can make connections with the familiar (James, 2002, pp.35-36).

As a prime tool not just of communication but also teaching, storytelling once played a significant part in the community life. Particularly useful was the story that warned of dangers and of transgressions. Such a story is still often found in the 'bogeyman' tales where children are frightened from going near rivers or other dangers (Colwell 1989, p. 9). Another popular tale was an embroidered account of an exploit, that would in the re-telling, be exaggerated to the point where it often hinted at super-human qualities (Colwell 1989, p. 10).

Pellowski defined six reasons as to why humans first began to tell each other stories – to fulfil the need for playful, self entertainment; to explain the surrounding physical world; to honour or propitiate the supernatural force(s) believed to be present in the world; to communicate experience to others; to fulfil an aesthetic need for beauty, regularity and form; to record the actions or qualities of one's ancestors (1977, p. 10).

Stories were often told by the older men and women to their families or small

---

<sup>11</sup> S.f.S. website. Rosen believed that even today storytelling is not just reserved for “special occasions around camp-fires, in family gatherings, at the child's bedside” (1985, p12) but it is found everywhere as a means of making sense of the world.

<sup>12</sup> E. Peacock found that “the terms story-teller, storier, and liar, express three degrees of comparison, liar being the superlative” (1889, p.527)

gatherings of friends or neighbours, and as time went by, the content became less instructional and more a form of entertainment. As industrialisation took hold and working within the home became less common so the telling of stories declined. The invention of more effective lighting, which led to longer working hours, also hastened the process. Competition from newspapers and books containing informative accounts of current affairs also eclipsed storytelling in importance, so that in time, the telling of stories in community settings was only found in remote parts of the countryside (Colwell 1989, p. 12-13). How early this situation arose in England is subject to debate and will be covered elsewhere within this thesis.

### **3.2.2 How Balfour may have found her Informants**

As was explored briefly by Gomme (1890), collecting folklore could be challenging, especially for a newcomer into a community. Balfour acknowledged that the people were suspicious of strangers (p. 148) and M. Peacock said, of many elderly people in north Lincolnshire, they “are still in the age of folklore faith, but one has to know them intimately before they will speak openly...”(1901, p. 162).

To collect the stories, Balfour would have needed to show affinity with the informants, or in some way gain their respect and confidence.<sup>13</sup> The early folklore collectors found that, to be successful in their quest, the 'right' friendships needed to be maintained. This was achieved by Jefferies who spent much time in the kitchen of a local farming family, in the company of many labourers and labouring women (1879, p. 80-81). Balfour may have had such a kitchen in her home at Redbourne Vicarage, which was used as the doctors' surgery and waiting room. Such a profession would have ensured that the Balfour's welcomed people into their home, and such visitors may have been willing informants.

Balfour could also have enlisted the help of her husband, to assist with finding informants, as his medical training would have inspired confidence. Bennett found her informants from amongst the patients at her father's podiatrist clinic in Manchester in the 1980s (1999, p. 12). Doctors were seen as ideal confidants for stories (Burne, 1914, p. 13; Freeman, 2005, p. 57). Such was the case in Ireland, where Lady Wilde's husband collected folklore and stories from his patients as payment, which she then

---

<sup>13</sup> Unless she, like Blakeborough, paid her informants (Kirby, 2005, p. 6).

included in her book (Zimmerman, 2001, p. 287).<sup>14</sup> However, the evidence from Balfour and Jacobs indicates that she was the collector, rather than her husband, and this is the premise taken by this thesis.

A number of folklore collectors found that making themselves more like their informants by changing their dress, manner or speech could also prove beneficial (Holbek, 1987, p. 69).<sup>15</sup> However, as the wife of the doctor, it is unlikely that Balfour would have used this technique, as she occupied a central place within the community. Therefore it must be assumed that Balfour could bridge the cultural gap between herself and her informants, through patient and sympathetic strategies of inquiry<sup>16</sup> (Toelken, 1979, p. 292; Freeman, 2001, p. 183; Lloyd, 1967, p. 17).

### 3.2.3 The Venues for Storytelling

In the introduction to his *Penguin Book of English Folk Tales* (1992, p. xiii), Neil Philip lamented the lack of community storytelling in this country and compared the situation to the “semi-organised story sessions” found by Campbell in the West Highlands. Philip believed that English storytelling was more informal with stories “told as the occasion arose.” Within a later publication, he put forward his theory that one of the factors behind the decline in the indigenous storytelling tradition in the nineteenth century, was the lack of community gathering places and the small size of cottages in the rural villages, which were too cramped for socialising (1993, p. 93).

Many social historians have noted that in the past, the evenings were a time when rural communities gathered together to complete tedious tasks. Tales were often told to while away the long winter evenings,<sup>17</sup> and if there was a place with plenty of room, and a warm fire, this would be preferable (Huggett, 1972, p. 69; Holbek, 1987, p. 170; Zimmerman, 2001, p. 458; Cross, 1999, p. 166). Ekirch, in his comprehensive study of night-time across Europe described how people would bank up, or put out their own fires and gather in one house:

---

<sup>14</sup> *Ancient Legends, Mystic Charms, and Superstitions of Ireland* (1888)

<sup>15</sup> This was noted by Lang in 1873 as being the practice of folklorists in Russia “who would wear mean clothing and haunt the khans and huts of the peasants.”

<sup>16</sup> Eddie Lenihan, a present day Irish folklore and folk-tale collector has found that it can take a considerable amount of time to gain the confidence of the elderly informants in County Clare, Ireland such that they would tell him of encounters with the fairy folk. He considers such relationships as fragile and believes that if he doesn't keep visiting the informants they will accuse him of just “using them”.

<sup>17</sup> The poet John Clare wrote of folk stories being told (in '*January: A Cottage Evening from A Shepherd's Calendar*') and also read from a book (in '*St Martin's Eve*') (Philip, 1992, p. xv).

A cottage hearth supplied small quantities of both light and heat. There was no shortage of tasks...men turned their hands to shelling nuts or weaving baskets...women normally sat up front, knitting, weaving and carding wool either for themselves or for another (Ekirch 2005, p. 179).

Storytelling, Ekirch confirmed, was the night's principal entertainment; "legends, fables and tales of evils spirits, eternal stories recounted again and again by seasoned narrators with well trained memories."

Campbell also found that during the long winter nights the people would "gather in crowds to the houses of those whom they consider good reciters to listen to their stories" (1890, p. iv). Likewise, in rural Ireland the popular storyteller 'The Tailor' welcomed many people into his small white-washed cottage in West Cork, for gatherings on winter evenings, such that "The settle will be full, and all the chairs will be occupied. There will even be an overflow on to the stairs and the window-ledge" (Cross 1999 reprint of 1942, p. 166).

Howitt related how, in the Yorkshire and Lancashire dales, the men, women and children would all knit, and after dark, when the young children had been put to bed, they would:

take their cloaks and lanterns, and set out with their knitting to the house of the neighbour where the sitting falls in rotation, for it is a regularly circulating assembly from house to house through the particular neighbourhood. The whole troop of neighbours being collected, they sit and knit, sing knitting-songs, and tell knitting'-stories. Here all the old stories and traditions of the dale come up, and they often get so excited that they say, "Neighbours, we 'll not part to-night," that is, till after twelve o'clock. All this time their knitting goes on with unremitting speed (Howitt, 1840, p. 238).

Lawson described a similar situation in Pudsey, Yorkshire, in the 1820s and 1830s:

let us imagine ourselves...on a dark and stormy winter's night, sitting by some fireside, with or without the dim light of the candle; a few **neighbours** – men, women, and children – sitting together. The children both dread and like to hear what are called "boggard tales." They ask the older people to tell them some tale they have heard before, or a new one. The pitch darkness outside, and the comparative darkness within, and the howling moaning winds...cause everyone's imagination to be in full **vigour**, ready to drink in the weird stories. Every eye and ear is centered on the narrator (Lawson, 1887, p. 68).

But stories were not just told in the houses. Kitchen, recalled listening to stories of witches, whilst working on farms in **Nottinghamshire**. "...I am sure we all believed these tales, as we sat on trusses of hay or on the corn-bin...in the dim light of the stable-

lantern”<sup>18</sup> (1940, p. 62).

Storytelling was not just for the nights. In Garsdale, Howitt noted that the old men would knit during the day time, and get so engrossed in their “occupation and stories” that they would scorch their shins unless they pinned protective cloths on them (Howitt, 1840, p. 239).

Whilst living in Redbourne, Balfour may have been the receiver of many visitors and hints at this experience within a semi-autobiographical section of her novel *Fall of the Sparrow*, in which a Rectory in a fictitious Carrs village provided warmth, shelter and hospitality for local people: <sup>19</sup>

There were always people coming and going in the kitchen: women to fetch soup or wine for their sick, men smoking on the settle or drinking beer, the groom sleepily hissing as he polished an odd bit of harness, or a passing tramp warming himself at the fire, with a full plate balanced upon his knees, for there was beef and beer in plenty...And with the rattle of pewter and the steam rising fragrantly from the great pot... the voice of some old man monotonously crooning one of the ancient tales as it had been handed down to him from his fathers, tales of the strange Things that walked in the Cars; amid the mists, in the evil hours of darkness (Balfour, 1897, p. 10-11).<sup>20</sup>

This description also hints at another effective way of gleaned stories, that of offering hospitality (Thompson, 1977, p. 408).

Balfour also acknowledged meeting the teller of *The Flying Childer* “in a small inn some distance from where [she] lived, where [she] had one day to spend an hour” (1891, p. 401). Many inns, public houses, or tap rooms were welcoming places for telling stories in return for drinks or other forms of hospitality (Philip, 1993, p. 93). One such venue was The Ship at Brandon Creek, in the Fens, where Barrett recalled that “storytelling continued until either money or beer ran out” and “one adept in the art of entertaining his fellow men would be sure of free beer, with an ounce of [tobacco] thrown in”<sup>21</sup> (Barrett, 1963, p. xii).

---

<sup>18</sup> Blakeborough recalled a similar venue for storytelling from his childhood, when “he loved to creep into a corner of the old saddle room, and there drink in with open ears the stories which the old drivers and guards so loved to tell” (Blakeborough Collection NACTEL, item 2.4 p. 74)

<sup>19</sup> She included details of her life in the Cars and a reference to the tales of “*Tiddy Mun*, and the *Dead Hands*, and the moon buried in the Marshes” within her novel *Fall of the Sparrow* (see Appendix 6).

<sup>20</sup> Zimmerman noted with regard to the insertion of storytelling scenes within nineteenth-century novels “when the tales-spinner is shown in action and made real through speech, vivid details can be striking, particularly if the rest of the novel creaks with techniques which were accepted then but seem obsolete now” (2001, p. 260-261).

<sup>21</sup> It was from here that Barrett first heard many of the stories that he later included in his books.



Howitt remarked on the importance of the landlords of country inns who would attract guests to their premises “by their humour, their racy anecdotes,” and “random shots of country wit.” Such men, he said could “furnish a Wordsworth or a Crabbe with the rough diamond of a story which they set in imperishable gold”(1840, p. 486).

### **3.2.4 Collecting the *Legends***

As noted above, Balfour managed to tap into the “inner life of the people” a resource that was not commonly shared with outsiders and that was often deliberately concealed (Freeman, 2005, p. 58; Jefferies, 1894, p. 242-243). Once confidence has been established, a popular method of getting people to tell tales was for the folklore collector to 'set the ball rolling' by telling a tale themselves for, as Gomme noted “nothing is more contagious than tale-telling among those who can tell tales,” (Gomme, 1890, p. 115; Wilson, 1997, p. 12). Similarly, Thompson, who collected folk tales from the Gypsies at Grimsby and Cleethorpes had to give “a tale for a tale” (1916, p. 168, Philip 1992, p. xviii).

Analysis of the way Balfour comments on storytelling abilities and the fact that she recalled stories to send to Jacobs,<sup>22</sup> leads to the assumption that she may have had the ability to recall and tell a tale herself. It is also possible that she was a co-conversationalist, who supplied an abstract of a story in order to prompt the telling of it, or another tale (Toolan, 1988, p. 150). Clues that Balfour had stimulated conversation about the supernatural and superstitions can be found within the introductions to the *Legends* and within such comments as “So thou'st heerd tell o' the boggarts” (p. 159) and “A do'ant know as a unnerstan' what tha me'an by “ghostis”(p. 413).

However it was, there must have been a deep rapport between Balfour and her informants, and that will explain the success that she achieved in gaining information on the beliefs, the 'pagan' rituals and the customs contained within the *Legends*. She acknowledged that some of the old people displayed a “serious faith” and a “childlike certainty of unseen things...an unquestioning belief in supernatural powers” (p. 148). These findings are much like those of Jefferies who noted that the people led a double life, and could use the voice of the nineteenth century and current ideas in public, and their “own ancient tongue and ancient ideas, their traditions, and belief in the occult” amongst themselves (Jefferies, 1894, p. 242-243; Freeman, 2005, p. 58; Dégh, 2001, p.

---

<sup>22</sup> She also recalled two stories told by her old Scottish nurse and sent these to Jacobs (1894a, p. 208).

82).

The nineteenth century, folk tale collector Evald Tang Kristenson, had found that the Christian faith of the tellers in Jutland, “merged completely with the belief in the reality of ancient lore and...tales were regarded...almost in the same way as articles of faith.” He also noted that the ancient lore was deeply hidden (Holbek, 1987, p. 76). Marson, a collector of folk songs who worked with Cecil Sharp, had been living in a small village in Somerset, completely ignorant of the “wealth of art, which that village contained.” He recalled that the people had hidden their “most precious cultural possessions from the master, the squire, the parson (Lloyd, 1967, p. 18). Balfour must have had the ability to use sympathetic language and to display a level of belief to enable the respondents to feel comfortable and able to talk (Zimmerman, 2001, p. 149; Honko, 1964, p. 10; Balfour, 1891, p. 148). Bennett, found that the easiest way to get people to tell her supernatural belief stories, was to omit the term 'supernatural' and use 'mysterious' instead (1999, p. 15).

### **3.2.5 Tellers proving Belief (and Disbelief)**

Folktale collectors found that in the late nineteenth century, older storytellers were still expressing belief in the truth of their stories, an increasing number of the younger folk were stating their disbelief, particularly those who have been the recipients of State Education (Zimmerman, 2001, p. 139; Holbek, 1987, p. 80,194). Lysaght, in her research into later twentieth century storytelling in Ireland, found that tellers would sometimes be found using formulaic phrases to establish credibility as it was felt best to “keep them in doubt; it keeps the stories going: it keeps the old traditions alive!” (Lysaght, 1991, p. 37, Glassie, 1982, p. 69; Zimmerman, 2001, p. 487).

Though only three of the *Legend* tellers actually professed personal belief in their stories, and this does not include *The Green Mist*, six of the tellers asserted that their stories were nevertheless 'true'. Butler's research on the L'anse people found that the elders were the ones who told the most supernatural of the tales, and that “more than half of all texts performed were fully accepted as true by the narrator” (1990, p. 94).

Many of the tellers of the *Legends* included characteristic phrases within their narrative, to prove the reliability of their story or themselves (Bennett, 1999, p. 37; Holbek, 1987, p. 195).<sup>23</sup> Many of them also indicated the commonly found belief that

<sup>23</sup> The tellers of *The Dead Moon* (and *Sam'l's Ghost*), *The Green Mist*, *The Strangers' Share* and *Fred*

the things in the tales happened long ago (Holbek, 1987, p. 200). Such temporal approximation provided a distance between the teller and the narrative. The common time frame was “a hundred years ago” which was likely to be too long for people to be alive and is similar to that used by the teller of *The Green Mist*<sup>24</sup> (p. 260). This distance would provide a distinction between the dark, poverty stricken past and the 'educated and enlightened' time when the story was told (Palmenfelt, 1993, p. 156).

Another point to consider is whether the storytellers told the stories that they wished to tell, or the ones they thought Balfour wished to hear. It is more likely to be the latter, particularly as she seemed to be trying to gain evidence of paganism. The tellers may have been persuaded by Balfour to tell her of the systems that hold the community together and which will help the listeners to survive within the hostile environment such was found in the Carrs, particularly prior to drainage. They also seem to have embellished the folklore content in order to please her.<sup>25</sup> Such telling to please, particularly if a reward was in the offing, was noted by many collectors (Holbek, 1987, p. 76, 40, 191; Zimmerman, 2001, p. 115, 146-147, Zipes, 2006, p. 229-230).

### **3.2.6 The Methods of Recording and Transcribing the Legends.**

Regarding the physical recording of the *Legends*, Balfour stated that, with the exception of the last three tales, she made short notes at the time and then wrote up the stories on arriving home, within a day of hearing the stories (p. 401).<sup>26</sup> This was the same as the note taking method used by Thompson, and also recommended in *The Folk-Lore Journal* (Apperson, 1884, p. 152-155, Philip, 1992, p. xix). The stunted nature of Balfour's notes to the last three stories, indicates that she may actually have been writing whilst the teller was narrating the story, a practice that can sometimes spoil the flow of the story (Zimmerman, 2001, p. 388).

Thompson, and the Grimms, expressed a preference for hearing a story more than once to find which elements were fixed (Philip, 2003, p. 47, 1992, p. xviii; Kamenetsky, 1992, p. 152). This method was also used by Hyde, an Irish collector, who would say

---

*th' Fool* each explained during their narration that they had gathered the stories from their grandparents. The notes for *Sam'l's Ghost* state that it was told to the narrator by her grandfather but this was translated as grandmother in the finished tale by Balfour.

<sup>24</sup> The teller said that the tale was from more than a hundred and fifty years earlier.

<sup>25</sup> As can be shown in Appendix 10, Balfour's tellers seem to have been trying to please her.

<sup>26</sup> Examples of the kind of notes she made can be found with the *Legends* Part III.

“I’d like to have that on paper” when requesting a re-telling (Zimmerman, 2001, p. 314).

Holbek, who studied the work of ETK, found evidence that asking informants to retell a story could lead to their growing “more communicative as soon as they realize that the recording is in earnest and not a mere pastime” (1987, p. 77). However, he noted that it was never possible for a narrator to retell his tale 'exactly' as before, and even if “the tale may have been learned by heart,...he puts something of his own into it, even narrates with his body and always accompanies his presentation with vivid facial expressions” (1987, p. 71).

Ong pointed out that storytellers in the oral tradition remember, not the complete text (for there is often no such thing) but the themes and formulas that they have heard others use. He stitches together these ingredients in different ways dependent on the situation of the telling, and the audience (2002, p. 142). Goody reasoned that “a written work necessarily has a fixed text, but an oral composition may be added to or subtracted from at any time and by different people” (1992, p. 14). Within the *Legends* there are a number of shared motifs which the local storytellers may have used to enhance their tales. *The Dead Moon* includes mention of dead hands, and flat stones, the latter of which are ingredients within *Tiddy Mun* and *Yallery Brown*. Similarly, snags are found in *Tiddy Mun*, *The Dead Moon* and *The Dead Hand*. A Great Worm is included in *The Flyin' Childer* as well as *Sam'l's Ghost*. On the other hand these could have been used as prompts by Balfour within questions designed to collect tales.

Balfour stated within the Introduction to the *Legends*: “I fear I cannot preserve the rude poetry and grace of the vernacular; but I tell these stories of the Cars of the Ancholme Valley exactly as told to me, lest in altering I might spoil them.” Of *Tiddy Mun* she said:

There is an inconsequence and an incompleteness about it for which I am not responsible; I tell it as it was told to me, and I have tried to keep to the old woman’s words as closely as possible, only changing them where they would certainly not be 'understood' of the people without an intimate knowledge of the dialect (Balfour, 1891, p. 149).

The words used by Balfour with regard to the *The Dead Moon*: “I have kept not only to the outline of her story, but in great part to her very words, which I think I could not have made more effective even if I had wished to do so” (p. 156), may have fuelled speculation that she edited the tale. However, this could be read as a condescending

remark on her attitude to her 'primitive' informant, and an expression of surprise at the young girl's ability. Her attitude to the storytellers will be explored later in this section.

The submission of the last three tales to *Folk-Lore*, appended with the rough notes, was at the suggestion of the Editor "so that those who may use them for scientific folklore purposes may know exactly the character of the material they are using." Balfour stated that "I have endeavored to keep strictly to what I heard" (p. 401).

Balfour had also noted within the introduction to Part I, that "some of the stories were pieced together by scraps gained from several sources" (p. 148). This is likely to refer to *Fred th' Fool* and *Sam'l's Ghost* of which she suggested in the introduction to Part III that they were "...portions of the same tale, although told...at different times and by different people". She stated that she had "given titles to these...but otherwise... added and altered nothing" (p. 401).

These comments indicate that Balfour aimed to be the type of folklore collector that Dorson called the 'disseminator' who wished to present the truth in the form of unedited texts (Holbek, 1987, p. 40). In this way, she followed the example set by the Grimms with a "scholarly-literary goal of an accurate documentation of storytelling, reflecting the vocabulary, style, and narrative exposition of the oral narrators themselves" (Ben-Amos, 1992, p. 106). This is in contrast to Jacobs, who as has been stated in Section 1.3, was more keen on distorting the texts to appeal to the mass reading public.

From her comments, it can be assumed that Balfour did not excessively edit the texts or give them a "metaphysical glossing" (Ben-Amos, 1992, p. 106; Tedlock, 1972, p. 115; Zimmerman, 2001, p. 197). However, from comparison of the last three tales with the rough note attachments, it is clear that Balfour, in recreating the dialect, did add a few storytelling features similar to those found within the earlier tales but, as can be seen in Appendix 10, there are not as many as in these later tales. Her actions may have been inspired by Jacobs confidence in her "thorough knowledge of the peasants' mind and mode of speech"(1894a, p. 3) and searching her memory for the words spoken. However, as can be shown by her omission of the final line of *The Flyin' Childer*: "Suppose all rubbish..." Balfour, like many other collectors, as noted by Dorson, removed expletives and poor grammar from the narratives (1976, p. 9).

### **3.2.7 Evidence for how the Stories were Performed.**

Balfour did not state if there were any other people present when she was listening to the *Legends*; however, parallels between the content of the individual tales, which will be explored below, could indicate that they may have been a shared culture within the locality, similar to that found by Bringhurst (1999), and from which the tellers drew their material.

As noted above, there is a good possibility that some of the storytelling took place within the large kitchen of the vicarage, in Balfour's home. Such an audience would probably have been attentive to the story, thereby making the telling “more beautiful and colourful” (Zimmerman, 2001, p. 115) and they may also have taken on the role of evaluating the tale and ensuring it was told 'correctly' (Bauman 1992b, p. 44; Zimmerman, 2001, p. 381, 468, Ekirch 2005, p. 179). Within a small community different reactions were likely to have been shown to performers dependent on their belief or non-belief in the narrative (Butler, 1990, p. 101). It is also clear that Balfour interrupted some of the tellers during their performances as clues have been left within the text, such as the comments “A'll tell thee 'bout them another toime” and “What's that? Ay' a called 'un Tiddy Mun...”. These questions could have disturbed the flow of the narrative (Holbek, 1987, p. 47).

It is also possible that the women and girls told their stories to Balfour at a different time than the men, for as Tebbutt noted, women would often remain silent when men were around, in order to leave the talking to the 'professionals' (1997, p. 41). Men would tell more masculine stories to each other in the fields, workplace or the tap-room, whereas women, who were rarely found in pubs, would tell stories of and about both genders to each other and to their children within the home, and whilst carrying out routine tasks or tedious tasks such as carding wool, knitting or mending (Holbek, 1987, p. 172, p. 405, Ekirch, 2005, p. 179).

Research has shown that narrators of either gender change their repertoires as they move from childhood to adolescence, and then to adulthood and finally old age (Ben-Amos, 1992, p. 111), and that every storyteller has “an identity and style of his own, the same way as any painter and composer” (Bringhurst, 1999, p. 336-337).

As noted earlier, each telling of a particular tale is unique, because the narrator recalls the themes rather than the words (Darnton, 1984, p.19). However, once a teller has

adapted a tale, it tends to 'stabilize' indicating an 'understanding' of its content (Holbek, 1987, p. 71). Bennett noted that the more a personal story was related, the more traditionalised it became and this is how "personal experience gradually acquires the traditional trappings of darkness, solitude and liminality, and begins to resemble a conventional ghost story"(1999, p.45). The teller of *Yallery Brown* must have worked on his story to enable him to tell it in first person and turn it into what, would now be known as, his "party piece" (Wilson, 1997, p. 7; Dorson, 1976, p. 133). This method of telling is not uncommon and has been documented by Bauman in his study of Ed Bell, a storyteller from Texas who "performed his life in multiple guises...personal experience narratives...first-person tall tales [and] in narrative performances about his narrative performances..." (1987, p. 219).

### **3.2.8 Balfour's attitude to her Informants and the *Legends***

It is unfortunate that Balfour collected the *Legends* before the publication of Gomme's *Handbook of Folklore* (1890), which outlined his scientific methods, for though she had taken Müller's advice and recorded the *Legends* in dialect, she only left clues to the identity of some of the tellers rather than actually naming her informants<sup>27</sup> (Gomme, 1890, p. 115; Kamenetsky, 1992, p. 156; Müller, 1882, p. 193).

Balfour seems not to have followed the usual trend of regarding her informants as passive conduits, through which the story was transferred to her, the collector (Holbek, 1987, p. 78; Boyes, 1993, p. ix). Instead she added comments on their storytelling abilities and in addition to her remarks on the girl who told *The Dead Moon*, as mentioned above, she described the men, whose tales she included in Part II, as not in possession of "a strong and instinctive sense of the dramatic art of storymaking." She also fails to acknowledge that their lack of ability may be caused by their only knowing a small number of stories that they told only occasionally (Zimmerman, 2001, p. 429).

Of the stories in Part III which Balfour considered as "less effective as stories," she made an unflattering remark on their "inconsequence, and even incoherency" (p. 401) and also stated that *The Flyin' Childer*, showed:

the curious unconscious immorality of very primitive minds—the immorality which is reflected in our most familiar fairy tales, where murder and theft and lying are often accepted as the natural path towards success (p. 258).

---

<sup>27</sup> I have used Balfour's clues to investigate the tellers, in section 3.6.

Balfour described the informant, who also gave her the tale of *Fred th' Fool*, as “a poor story-teller, [who] did not seem to realise the incoherency of the tale” and added that “...he believed...that all dead persons are “boggles”, capable of feeling, speaking, appearing to living eyes, and of working good and evil, till corruption has finally completed its work, and the bodies no longer exist” (p. 402).

Balfour also failed to acknowledge the wisdom of the elderly, or give them the respect that would be found in other cultures,<sup>28</sup> choosing instead to comment on their being “devout believers” who dated “from the days of universal credulity (p. 148). These statements are clear indicators of Balfour's belief in the evolutionary theory and her desire to provide evidence of the primitive beliefs of the people of the Carrs. This opinion is supported by her comment on the listening to “awesome tales” and “stories...till I nearly believed in them myself” (p. 149).

It is also clear that Balfour sought to stimulate academic debate regarding the stories. She expressed her wish that *The Flyin' Childer* would be analysed and compared with the teller's beliefs and noted that “There can be little doubt that it is either vastly incomplete, or has become confused with another tale, which, perhaps, fills the gap where the true version has been forgotten” (p. 403).

### **3.3 DISSECTING THE NARRATIVE CONTENT OF THE LEGENDS**

“I have listened to awesome tales of “boggarts” and “todlowries” that have still local habitations as well as names; and to weird stories of witches, and woe-women and their spells, till I nearly believed in them myself; and to strange, rambling histories that seemed like peeps into a bygone world, where the fantastic spirits were more real than the trembling, fearing, conciliating people they alternately helped and oppressed.” (Balfour, 1891, p. 149)

“...isn't it a very smart person, man or woman, that can frame a tale?” (Glassie, 1982, p. 37)

#### **3.3.1 The Structure of the *Legends* - can they be shown to be Oral Stories?**

Within this sub-section, reference should be made to Appendix 10, which seeks to provide evidence for the use of performance strategies within the *Legends*. I have also typed the different performative strategies in bold within this section to differentiate

---

<sup>28</sup> This respect was recognised by Goody, 1992, p. 16 and Thompson, 1977, p. 408.



them from the remaining text. Balfour stated that she had recorded the stories exactly as told to her, and it is possible to see from the notes to the third set of tales, when compared to the final narrative,<sup>29</sup> that she recorded introductory and closing comments plus asides and digressions.

Each of the tales conform to what Olrik terms the 'epic' laws of **opening and closing**. Butler referred to these as the 'frame-in' and the 'frame out' (1990, p. 108,120) and described how they would ensure that the action does not start or end abruptly (Zimmerman, 2001, p. 379; Olrik, 1965, p. 132; Bauman, 1992, p. 45). As mentioned earlier (3.2), the tellers of a number of the stories also, typically explained within their openings, who they had heard the tales from (Benjamin, 1973, p. 91).

Balfour's informants, with the exception of the last three tales, included many **repetitions and patterns**, mainly in the form of repeating actual words or phrases. They also included three-fold phrases and episodes (Thompson, 1977, p. 456), as exemplified in the three visits to the wise-woman and three riddles in *A Pottle o' Brains* and the three searches for body parts within *Sam'l's Ghost*.

**Dialogue** has frequently been used within the *Legends* to provide "an effective device for rhetorically underlining key events, ideas and image" (Bennett, 1989b, p. 179; Zimmerman, 2001, p. 491). The teller of *The Strangers' Share* was the only informant that did not use this technique, though, as will be shown later, this narrative seems to be more of an account than a story.

Thompson noted that **rhyming stanzas or couplets** are important devices found within the oral tradition (1977, p. 458), but the only *Legends* that include rhymes are *Tiddy Mun* and *Yallery Brown*. However, many of the tales include poetic devices such as similes, metaphors,<sup>30</sup> onomatopoeic words and alliteration, as highlighted below, particularly *Yallery Brown* and *The Dead Hand*.

**Expressive sounds and sound effects** are a common feature in live storytelling performance. The teller of *Tiddy Mun* was particularly expressive, and included some wonderful evocations of nature such as gust of wind, sigh of wind, skirling of the wind, lip-lap of the water and splash-sploppert as water is poured into the dyke. Toolan observed that the frequency of these features typically give an indicator of how often

---

<sup>29</sup> In Appendix 12.

<sup>30</sup> Lanham (2012) explored the importance of metaphor in the language used by the agricultural workers, with particular reference to Suffolk.

the tale has been performed (1988, p. 161). The only *Legends* without such features are *The Strangers' Share* and *The Dead Moon*, the former being weak in many performative aspects, and the latter told by a young girl, who did however include lots of other features.

Analysis of the *Legends* using **Labov's six part model**, is shown in Appendix 9, and this, indicates that *The Dead Moon*, *A Pottle o' Brains* and *Yallery Brown* fit well with the structure; *Tiddy Mun*, though wordy, also fits the framework; *The Green Mist* is a bit too long in the introduction but otherwise fits the model; *The Dead Hand* seems to finish but then has a 'post-script'; *The Strangers' Share* and *The Flyin' Childer* are poorly told stories, the latter gruesome with no discernible pattern and the former, too wordy, with an unsatisfying ending in which the situation doesn't really get better, despite efforts to pacify the spirits;<sup>31</sup> *Fred th' Fool* similarly has a disappointing ending for the listener and *Sam'l's Ghost*, though apparently well told, has a rather abrupt start with no explanation as to why Sam'l has been burnt.

However, as regards the more 'wordy' stories, these may have been expanded for Balfour's benefit. As Butler noted that when the listener is not as

familiar with certain understood background details...and, in fact, may not be aware of certain supernatural belief traditions at all...greater background detail must be included in the content of [the] narrative performance...an embedded text inserted into the heart of the primary narrative during the actual act of performing... (Butler, 1990, p. 113).

Bennett found that women were more prone to using long sentences, descriptive asides and reported speech..." as well as scene setting that could be regarded as irrelevant, but is indicative of the way women tell stories (1999, p. 133, 1989b, p. 168). The tale of *Tiddy Mun* includes the description of the stoning of the "wall-eyed witch," and a list of people meeting "doun by tha cross dyke"(Balfour, 1891, p. 154).

**Siikala's framework** (1990) was also used to analyse the *Legends* and the introductions to gauge the traditional telling styles of the narrators. I have not applied this to *A Pottle o' Brains* and *The Flyin' Childer* as they do not contain aspects of custom or belief. The findings from this analysis of Siikala (1990) are as follows:

Type A-The teller of *The Green Mist* displayed evidence of seeking to entertain in an active way but with a distance placed between themselves and tradition (p. 146).

<sup>31</sup> Research by Luthi has explored the significance of the 'happy ending' within fairy tales (quoted in Girardot, 1977, p. 275).

Type B-The narrator of *The Strangers' Share* seemed to be an occasional narrator closely associated with tradition (p. 151).

Type C-*Tiddymun* and *The Dead Hand* appear to have been told by people who have absorbed and internalised the tradition and regarded folklore as true events and experiences of personal significance (p. 156).

Type D-The tellers of *The Dead Moon* (and *Sam'l's Ghost*), *Fred th' Fool* and *Yallery Brown*, were seeking to entertain in an active way that showed they had internalised tradition (p. 163).

The content of the *Legends* also typically reflect **aspects of the lives of the tellers** or listeners and their aspirations (Darnton, 1984, p. 36; Lloyd, 1967, p. 22; Bauman, 1986, p. 2). The tellers of most of the stories seemed to be telling stories designed to appeal to Balfour, who, as noted earlier, was interested in the survival of paganism. The narrators of *Tiddy Mun*, *The Green Mist* and *The Strangers' Share* wished to inform her about the past and the rituals connected with the protection from the water and ensuring the productivity of the land; the tellers of *The Dead Hand* and *The Dead Moon* were concerned with the dangers that lurked in the Carrs at night; *Yallery Brown* and *Fred th' Fool*, gave much information concerning 'living in' on a farm, and the other informants seemed just to be providing local stories.

Benjamin noted that stories also contain “**openly or covertly, something useful**” which could be a moral, practical advice, a proverb or maxim. (Benjamin, 1973, p. 86; Siikala, 1990, p. 206; Philip, 2003, p. 49). In this connection, the tellers of the *Legends* seemed to be giving warnings as follows:

*Tiddy Mun* and *The Strangers' Share* – the dangers of not keeping up traditional customs;

*The Green Mist* – being careful of what you say, or wish for;<sup>32</sup>

*Yallery Brown* – lifting a stone and releasing a boggart;

*Fred th' Fool*– taking too much from your employer;

*Sam'l's Ghost* – the importance of gathering all the body parts at the time of death;

---

<sup>32</sup> The belief in the power of the spoken word has been explored by Obelkevich (1976, p. 309). Peacock noted, within Lincolnshire, the belief that the very naming of trouble seems to attract it (Bennett 2010).

*The Dead Hand* and *The Dead Moon* going out at night, the latter recommending the carrying of a keep-safe.<sup>33</sup>

I have summarised the results of this sub-section within *Table 1: Comparison of Performance Strategies found in the Legends*.

<b>Performance Strategies</b>	<i>Tiddy Mun</i>	<i>The Dead Moon</i>	<i>Pottle o' Brains</i>	<i>The Green Mist</i>	<i>Yallery Brown</i>	<i>The Dead Hand</i>	<i>The Strangers' Share</i>	<i>Flying Childer</i>	<i>Fred th' Fool</i>	<i>Sam'l's Ghost</i>
Assertion that story is true	x	x	-	x	x	x	x	-	-	-
Personal belief	x	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-
Specificity about people, places, times	x	-	-	-	x	x	-	-	x	-
Stress on Orienting information	x	x	-	x	x	x	-	-	-	-
Opening and closing	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	x
Asides to collector	x	-	-	x	x	x	x	-	-	x
Italicised/capitalized words – emphasis	x	x	-	x	x	x	-	x	x	x
Repetition	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Onomatopoeic words and alliteration	x	-	x	x	x	x	-	-	x	-
Similes and metaphors	x	x	-	x	x	x	x	-	-	-
Dialogue	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	x	x
Rhyming and riddles	x	-	x	-	x	-	-	-	-	-
Story title provided by Balfour	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	x
Teller Male or Female	F	F	?	M	M	M	M	M	M	F
Siikala analysis of teller types	C	D	-	A	D	C	B	-	D	D

*Table 1: Comparison of Performance Strategies found in the Legends.*

### **3.3.2 Locating the Personal and Place names in the Legends.**

It has been noted by Fox and Woolf that place names were often shortened by the “popular tongue” and that people were often given nicknames (Fox & Woolf 2002, p. 270). As Balfour resided in the village of Redbourne whilst collecting the tales, the records of the village will be used as a starting point for locating the names. Given

<sup>33</sup> Researchers have found that stories warning of danger are very common (Dègh, 2001, p. 82; Glassie, 1982, p. 63).

Balfour's inaccuracies in transcribing the dialect, which will be explored within the next section, it is safe to assume that some of the place names may also include spelling errors along with shortening.

There are no references to personal names within *The Dead Moon*, *The Green Mist*, *The Strangers Share*, *Flying Childer* and *Sam'l's Ghost*. Within *Tiddy Mun* there is a remark after the list of names “..as wor feyther’s brothers to me...” Could this be a mistranslation or does it refer to drinking partners?

I have summarised the research on personal names in *Table 2: Personal names found in the Legends*.

<b>Legend</b>	<b>Person Named</b>	<b>Possible Match</b>
<i>Tiddy Mun</i>	Tom o' the Hatch and Willem, his sisters son	Eatch was the name of a Redbourne family who lived at Riverhead Cottage in 1851.
	Fred Lidgitt	Lidgett was not found in Redbourne but was common in the locality, including Scawby, Owersby and Waddingham. <sup>34</sup>
	Brock o' Hell-gate	Holgate was a surname recorded in Redbourne and other parts of North Lincolnshire. <sup>35</sup>
	Ted Badley	Bagley was found in 1851 at Hibaldstow. Baddeley or Badley was more common in the Wolds.
	John Ratten	Ratton (spelt Rattan) <sup>36</sup> was the surname of at least two families in Redbourne.
<i>Yallery Brown</i>	Sally Bratton	Bratton was a name found in the census for the village and <i>The Dead Moon/Sam's Ghost</i> were said to have been told by Fanny Bratton (see section 3.6).
<i>The Dead Hand</i>	Long Tom Pattison	Pattison/Paddison/Paddinson was found in Redbourne and the Carrs. <sup>37</sup>
	Willy Kirby	Kirby could not be found on the census but the name Kirkby was found locally at Waddingham, Scawby, Wrawby and Kirton.
<i>Fred th' Fool</i> (Wolds teller)	Fred Baddeley	As explained above, Baddeley or Badley is a Wolds name.

Table 2: Personal names found in the Legends.

There are no references to places within *The Dead Moon*, *The Green Mist*, *The Strangers Share*, *Flying Childer* and *Sam's Ghost*. Likewise, *A Pottle o' Brains* contains no place or name clues other than that the wise woman lived on top of the hill. The remaining *Legends* include place names as recorded within Table 3: *Place-names found in the Legends*, along with the distances from Redbourne.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Brooks, the Parish Clerk reported that the Lidgetts were bakers in Waddingham and that there is a Lidgett Close in Scawby.

<sup>35</sup> William Holgate was listed as a commissioner for Ancholme drainage in 1838 (National Archives Online search) and Thomas Holgate, gentleman of Redbourne left a will in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century (Lincolnshire Archives Online search) Holgate has also been found in Roxby cum Risby and Wootton and the name Holdgate was recorded at Brigg and Scawby.

<sup>36</sup> There were 3 households (total 13 people) with the surname Rattan within the village and the hamlet of Pyewipe in 1881. Ten years later there were 5 households (total 18 people) within the village (Census Records). Rattan children are also mentioned within the School Log Book. There are also monumental inscription in the churchyard with this name.

<sup>37</sup> Tom Paddison was admitted to Redbourne school on July 20 1874. He left on July 31 but was readmitted on May 17 1875 to finally leave on April 28 1876.

<sup>38</sup> Distances are 'as the crowflies' [online resource].

<b><i>Legend</i></b>	<b><i>Place Named</i></b>	<b><i>Supposed Place</i></b>	<b><i>Distance*</i></b>
<i>Tiddy Mun</i>	The Inn	Red Lion Inn, Redbourne	Less than 1km
	Gorby Market Place	Scawby?	5.5km
	Wadham	Waddingham	4km
	Kirk garth	Churchyard, Redbourne	Less than 1km
	Horse-pond	Pond, Redbourne	Less than 1km
	Cross-dyke	Counterdiike drain <sup>39</sup>	3km
	Priestrigg	Priestlands, Redbourne? Or East Brigg?	2.25km
	John Rattan's Garth	Redbourne	3km
<i>Yallery Brown</i>	High Farm	Redbourne (see below)	1.5km
<i>The Dead Hand</i>	Gainhan't to th' mill	Next to the mill – in Redbourne or at Hibaldstow	Less than 1km or 2.75km
	Green Lane	'Green Lane' is a common term for a 'cart track.'	Less than 1km
<i>Fred th' Fool</i> (Wolds teller)	Cliff	Lincoln Cliff (also known as Lincoln Edge).	N/A

*Table 3: Place-names found in the Legends*

The meeting of the villagers prior to pouring water into the cross dyke (in *Tiddy Mun*), took place at John Rattan's garth (p.153). In 1841 a John Ratten lived in the alms houses in the village but other Ratten's lived in cottages at Hayes Farm, close to the cross dyke. There were still living here in 1851.

The narrator of *Yallery Brown* said that he could get to his work at High Farm by the Green Lane in a “matter o’ twenty minutes, but ther used to be a pa’ad [path] ‘cross the west field yonner, by tha side o’tha spinney, an’ on past tha fox cover an’ so to that ramper”

When I asked the Parish Clerk about the potential location of this story, he immediately explained that it would be “round past the houses and left up behind Manor Farm, follow the path up over West Field. High Farm is Herring's Farm now.” He added that I should be able to “come back down from the farm to Beck Lane by the River. The Ramper is the old Roman road – Ermine Street”. I followed the route up and found that whilst the fox cover and the spinney are no longer in existence there was much evidence of foxes and/or hares having been in the hedgerows. The estate plan of

<sup>39</sup> The Old River Ancholme is marked on the 1917 map with the additional name of 'Counterdiike Drain'.

1917 shows areas of woodland along this route<sup>40</sup> and the Redbourne estate papers show fox covert planting in 1900.<sup>41</sup>

### 3.3.3 Searching for Parallels for the Rhymes and Riddles within the *Legends*.

Balfour stated in the general introduction to the *Legends*, that she first heard of *The Dead Moon* in “as sort of nursery rhyme some children were singing” (p. 149). Analysis of the school log book shows that the children were being taught a song called *The Moon*<sup>42</sup> and whilst no 'nursery rhyme' of this type has been traced, two songs that might be called '*The moon*' were included in Hullah (1875, pp. 132 & 149). A possible candidate may also be found in the children's game *Moonlight Starlight*.<sup>43</sup> in which a child, pretending to be a 'bogle' tries to catch the others. The song that accompanies the game indicates that when the moon is out, the bogles are not around.

**Riddles** are considered to be one of the oldest and most culturally widespread of folklore genres (Green, 1992, p. 134). They have also played an important part in popular stories since remote times and frequently survive as part of the folk ballad tradition, a notable example being King John and the Abbot of Canterbury (Shuldiner, 1978, p. 269). Thompson described the genre of folk stories known as 'Clever Riddle Solvers' as being widely known, and popular with oral storytellers (1977, p. 158).<sup>44</sup> As an indicator of the popularity of riddles within Lincolnshire, M. Peacock included thirty-eight riddles in one of her dialect books (1886, pp. 109-121).<sup>45</sup> A search of the definitive collection – *English Riddles from Oral Tradition* by Taylor, (1951) produced only the following which bore similarities to the three riddles within the story of *A Pottle o' Brains* (pp. 166,167,169).

---

<sup>40</sup> Bidwell & Sons (1917)

<sup>41</sup> A Fox covert was a small woodland area maintained by a hunt master. Fox cover planting rated by John Trafford in RED 4/1/15 Redbourne papers.

<sup>42</sup> The school log book records that the children were learning the new song '*The Moon*' on 4 February 1876. They were also learning the song in March 1877 and practising it in January 1883 (Pages 36,47,99).

<sup>43</sup> There is a slight possibility that the song could also have been from Gilbert & Sullivan. Details of such songs and the game are in Appendix 4.

<sup>44</sup> Thompson however believed that these tales were literary in the first instance but were now an authentic part of the folk tradition.

<sup>45</sup> Comparison between these and the Taylor book indicates that twenty three of the riddles can be found in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire and elsewhere; seven can be found in other counties; three were not conventional riddles and five could not be found in the book (though one bore a strong resemblance in style to an American riddle).



1. "What runs without feet?" Answer – Water, is found with many variants and sources.<sup>46</sup>
2. "What's yellow and shining, but isn't gold?" Answer – The Sun, is not found in Taylor, however it could be a variant of the Irish riddles-  
 "What is the little barrel of gold on a miry road?" Answer – The Sun.  
 "What is the little yellow thing at the kings door?" Answer – The Sunlight.<sup>47</sup>
3. "What has first no legs, and then two legs, and ends with four legs?" Answer – A tadpole, is also not found Taylor, but it bears similarities to the riddle posed by the Sphinx to Oedipus: "What has four legs in the morning, two legs at noon and three in the evening?" Answer – A Man. This could also be regarded as a variant of  
 "What is all head and no body?" Answer – A Tadpole.<sup>48</sup>  
 "What has long legs, short thighs, bald head and bully eyes?" Answer – A frog.  
 "What has long legs, crooked toes, glassy eyes, snotty nose?" Answer – A frog.<sup>49</sup>

Riddles are also found within variants of the story of *A Pottle o' Brains*, which will be analysed in more detail later in this section.

With regards to the place of **rhymes** within stories, they are considered by some to be indicators of the oldest form of fairy tale, namely, the **cante-fable**, a mix of narrative and verse.<sup>50</sup> Mabel Peacock included six tales which included such short rhymes or couplets, within her *Taales fra Linkisheere*<sup>51</sup> (1889). Jacobs, who included within his *English Fairy Tales* collections, a number of tales which showed "traces of having rhyming portions" believed that the cante-fable "is probably the protoplasm out of which both ballad and folk-tale have been differentiated, the ballad by omitting the narrative prose, the folk-tale by expanding it"<sup>52</sup> (1898, p. 230, 1894a, p. 260).

Kidson & Neal defined the cante-fable as

<sup>46</sup> This riddle is listed in Taylor, 1951, p. 88 as Type no 260-265 note 4.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, p. 497, p. 505, Type No117.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, p.10, West Virginian Type 2.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, p.37, Type 82a or c.

<sup>50</sup> The cante-fable is also explored in Shuldiner (1978) A good, and still surviving, example of a cante-fable is found in versions of *Mr Fox – Lumpkin*, B G (1968) "*Mr. Fox*" (Baughman Type 955C). Bringhurst also noted the mnemonic value of such rhymes (1999, p. 365).

<sup>51</sup> These tales were in a section of eight stories entitled "Oud taales toud ower agean." Six of the tales were variants of Aesop's fables. Rhyming couplets are included within four of the tales and rhymes of four or more lines in three of the tales. An example can be found in Appendix 14.

<sup>52</sup> Jacobs included a total of 87 tales within the 2 volumes (1898, p. 230), of which 29 retained rhyming portions.

a traditional prose narrative having rhymed passages incorporated with the tale. These rhymes are generally short verses or couplets, which recur at dramatic points of the story. They were probably sung to tunes, but...the verse, or couplet, is now generally recited (2011 reprint of 1915, p. 5).

Halpert, who researched the decline of the cante-fable noted that the rhyme should have been the climax of the story but had often declined to the point where such riddles are accompanied by a “brief and subordinated story to explain the riddle” (quoted in Lumpkin, 1978, p. 70). He also suggested that one of the reasons for not finding more cante-fables was that folk-song collectors had not asked for songs that were linked to stories, and folktale collectors had not asked for stories that included songs (Halpert quoted in Ives, 1959, p. 226).

Jacobs described the rhyme in *Yallery Brown* as “a scrap of verse” with “such a folkish ring that it is probable” that the narrator “was only adapting a local legend to his own circumstances” (1894a, p. 192). The rhyme, as documented by Balfour (1891) is as follows:

“Wo’k as thou wull  
Thou’l niver do well;  
Wo’k as thou mowt  
Thou’l niver gain owt;  
Fur harm an’ mischance an’ Yallery Brown  
Thou ’s let oot thy-sel’ fro’ unner th’ sto’an” (pp. 270,271)

A variant of the rhyme is also found within the story as follows:

“Tiddy Mun, wi-out a name  
White heed, walkin’ lame;  
While tha watter teems tha fen  
Tiddy Mun ’ll harm nane.” (p. 152)

plus some shorter refrains:

“Tiddy Mun, wi’-out a name, tha watters thruff!”(p. 151)

and

“Tiddy Mun, wi-out a name, Here’s watter for you, tak’ tha spell undone!” (p. 154)

plus

“Tiddy, Mun wi-out a name, Here’s watter for thee!” (p. 155)

I have been unable to find parallels to this elsewhere though it bears some similarity

to the rhyme connected to the belief in the Whitby bay area of Yorkshire, that a hob, who lived in a cave at Mulgrave could cure whooping cough. Mothers would take their children to the mouth of the cave and call “Hob-hole Hob, My bairn's gotten t'kin cough, Tak't off, tak't off!” (Gee, 1953, p. 17).

### 3.3.4 Looking for Parallels for the Stories

As mentioned above, I have consulted a number of motif-indexes to see if they include parallels to the stories found by Balfour. These included Aarne & Thompson (1961), Briggs (1969) and Baughman (1966), and the results indicated that the *Legends* contain numerous recognisable motifs, from around the world, though particularly Ireland<sup>53</sup> and England. These motifs, drawn from Thompson (1955-1958) for simplicity are listed in Appendix 8. With regards to the indexed Tale Types, I have had little success within the official academic lists, which included Christiansen (1958) Halpert & Widdowson (1996) as well as the Irish types listed by O'Súilleabháin (1942).

As a consequence, I made a search of folktale collections within Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, the Fens and then further afield. The results are listed below.

*Tiddy Mun* was acknowledged by Briggs as a variant of *The Strangers' Share* (Briggs 1969b, p.378).<sup>54</sup> Peacock noted that “It is still considered natural that the descendants of people who enclosed common land at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, should suffer from ill-luck” (Bennett, 2010, Chapter 5, p. 20). Peacock gave the example of a family whose ancestors had enclosed a stretch of poor quality moorland and turned it into rich farm-land, much to the annoyance of local cottagers who had common rights on it. The descendants of the cottagers believed that the family had not “thriven.”<sup>55</sup>

*The Dead Moon* is listed as Tale Type: A.754.1 (moon kept in a box). Briggs believed that this story is not commonly found in Europe (1969a, p. 208) However, in the “Clouds” of Aristophanes there is mention of the “hiring of a Thessalian witch to bring down the moon and shut her up in a box.” (Thiselton-Dyer, 1878, p. 45). The

<sup>53</sup> It should be noted that within the list of motifs within the *Legends*, the 15 entries for Irish Myth, have been wholly sourced by the compilers of the Indexes from Cross (1952) *Motif-Index to Early Irish Literature*. This indicates an area of research that could be undertaken. This figure is significant when compared to the 12 entries found in England. Evans-Wentz recorded a case in Ireland of a Leprechaun living under a stone (1911, p. 74) which may also be worth investigating.

<sup>54</sup> Motifs within this tale are listed in Appendix 8 and section 3.4 of this thesis.

<sup>55</sup> There is also a tale from Devon of a man who tried to drain the bogs of Dartmoor who found “his purse was drained dry instead” (Sharman, 1952, p. 40).

story also bears similarities to the Kalevala Rune 49 in which the moon is stolen and trapped (along with the sun).<sup>56</sup>

The story *Well in the Well* from Yorkshire shares features with this tale. Our Lady's Well near Threshfield in north-west Yorkshire was regarded as a place of protection from supernatural creatures such as hobs, witches, goblins and boggarts. One day a man on his way home saw “a ghost and a number of wicked imps and goblins engaged in a wild and weird dance.” He stood still watching but then accidentally sneezed. The spirits began to chase after him with “hue and cry.” He leapt into the well and remained there whilst the creatures surrounded the well until cock-crow. (Gee, 1953, p. 146).

*A Pottle o' Brains* is listed by Briggs as Tale-type G.910 (man buys a pennyworth of wit), though this tale concerns a man who has to choose between his wife and his lover. Another difference, noted by Briggs is that within the Balfour tale, “the questions asked are answered by someone else, as in the main type but the questions are different, and there is no disguise” (1969c, p. 240). It is interesting to note that this story is the only entry in Thompson (1955-58) for motif J163.2.1 Fool is told to get a pottle of brains,<sup>57</sup> (Baughman, 1966, p. 299).

Jacobs noted the similarity of the girl within the story to the clever lass in Gobborn Seer, a tale with Irish origins collected in Deptford (1894a, p. 195). This tale in turn relates to the Irish tale of *The Poor Girl that Became Queen*, the story of a poor cottiers daughter who solved a complex riddle set by the King to save her father from imprisonment and then became Queen. After seven years of marriage she helped a woodsman by giving him advice, and the man, when questioned by the King revealed that his “own brain” had told him what to say. The King then told the Queen that she must leave his palace and go back to her father, but she could take the treasures from the palace, that she valued the most. She asked for a meal, and a parting drink with the King, before she left and during this meal, gave him a sleeping potion. When the King awoke the next day, he was at her father's cottage where she told him that “he was the one she valued the most.”<sup>58</sup>

<sup>56</sup> The Kalevala is a work of Finnish epic poetry compiled in the nineteenth century from mythology and folklore. Additional potential matches of *The Dead Moon*, from other parts of the world than Europe, are explored in Appendix 11.

<sup>57</sup> Baughman did not use Balfour as a source for other motifs such as F239.4.3. *Fairy is tiny*, E422.1.11.3. *Ghost as hand or hand* and E419.7. *Person with missing bodily member cannot rest in grave*.

<sup>58</sup> This tale is also viewed by Thompson as being of the group *The Clever Peasant Girl* – Type 875 (1977, p158)

*The Green Mist* has been regarded as a variant of Tale Type:1187: Meleager (permission to live as long as candle lasts).<sup>59</sup> This motif, included by Briggs (1969a, pp. 295-296) is also found in Norse mythology as the three fates (Moirai). Briggs also noted that Baughman compared the tale to the *Devil in Little Dunkeld Manse*.<sup>60</sup>

Peacock related a short tale of a witch that lived near Lincoln who bewitched a girl by giving her something to eat so that she would waste away. The witch also gave the mother a pot plant which caused her to become excitable. Her husband, noticing her strange behaviour, asked if she had taken anything from the witch and, realising the cause threw the plant into the fire. The woman immediately recovered and "ailed nothing" (Bennett, 2010, Ch.4, p. 17).

Regarding the actual manifestation of the green mist, Rudkin mentions the "sweet smelling Green Mist, heralding spring" (1954, p. 394)<sup>61</sup> a farmer in Lincolnshire also observed that when the weather conditions were right, the mist in early spring could look green (Sutton 2007)<sup>62</sup> and a Lincolnshire reminiscence site contains the following:

"I gauged the progress of the year by...the reds and golds of autumn, the spiky outstretched arms of winter, the green mist of spring, the shadiness of summer."<sup>63</sup>

Philip noted the similarity between the content of *The Green Mist* and *The Umbrella Man* a story written by Edward Thomas and included in his collection *The South Country* (1909, pp. 186-195). The tale described, in great detail, the life of an old man, including the death of his only daughter, who had been taken ill a short while after picking a rose and seeing it fall apart in her hand. Whilst this short segment of the story does resemble the *Legend*, Thomas was born in 1878, and so if he had collected the tale it would have been after Balfour's account. Philip seems to infer a belief in the 'truth' of the tale but a cursory exploration of the contents shows that it is chronologically confusing.

---

<sup>59</sup> Motif E765.3.4. *Girl lives until her cowslip is pulled*, is similarly listed in Thompson as from Baughman, who in turn took his reference from the *Legends* (1966, p. 299).

<sup>60</sup> This tale is about a girl who is wooed by the devil in disguise. She tells the minister she wishes to marry him but he will only agree if he can conduct the ceremony at the Manse. During the wedding he lit a candle at both ends and said he would marry them when the candle burnt out but then swallowed the candle. The devil gave a shriek, and vanished (Briggs 2002, pp. 157-158).

<sup>61</sup> Land-Reak or Land-Roak was a term found in the district of Manley and Corringham, that referred to the fog arising from the soil rather than the sea or the Humber (Peacock, 1889, p. 313).

<sup>62</sup> Laura Ingalls Wilder also wrote of a faint green mist being seen on a brown field - "Each tiny sprout was so thin you could hardly see it, but so many of them all together made that misty green" though this was based in America (1937, p. 76).

<sup>63</sup> Senior, N, blog website.

The closest listing to *Yallery Brown* is Tale-type: 331 (Variant of The Spirit in the Bottle). In this form of the tale, the released spirit is not returned to its place of captivity and its rescuer becomes its victim. (Briggs, 1969a, p. 579). Lincolnshire and Yorkshire have a number of tales involving Boggarts; however, in Yorkshire they are often known as Hobs, and a number of these stories concern the creatures turning against people they had previously helped. Similarly, tales which include not thanking the creature have been noted.<sup>64</sup> One such creature was the Farndale Hob, who for three generations, had helped the Gray family with the work on their farm. The practice of leaving out some cream for the creature had been established, but when one day the farmer's wife left out skimmed milk instead of cream, the Hob turned against the family and started to make mischief. So bad did the situation become, that the previously prosperous farmer became "wretched" and decided to move to another farm. However, as they were driving away, a neighbour asked where they were going. "we are flitting" replied the farmer. "Aye, we're flitting!" came a husky voice from the cart. Seeing the "frightful little figure, ugly as sin" sitting on the milk churn, the farmer muttered "with an air of resignation" "if thou art flitting, we'll e'en flit back again!"<sup>65</sup>(Gee, 1953, p. 21).

Briggs noted that *Yallery Brown* resembled a tale from the Welsh Marches in which a young man made offerings to the fairies to gain help with making his sweetheart his wife. He wish came true, but his wife was a scold and soon died and his luck turned bad (1967, p. 59).

*The Dead Hand* could be viewed as a variant of Tale-Type:326 (The Youth who wanted to learn what fear is). Grice recorded a story from Middridge, County Durham of a boy who scoffed at the stories, told by the other boys, of the fairies. He was dared to ride nine times around the quarry in which the creatures were believed to dwell, and agreed to do so, but filled his pockets with protective rowan on the way. When he was chased by the fairies he rode hastily home throwing rowan on the ground behind him. He got into the stables, slammed the door just as a javelin was thrown. It hit the door and left a mark that could still be seen<sup>66</sup> (1951, pp. 62-65).

A more tragic story survives from Devon in which a young farmhand kept hearing a voice calling 'Jan Coo! Jan Coo!' When he or the other farm hands called back it would

<sup>64</sup> Conversations with storyteller Michael Wray and puppeteer and storyteller Beka Haigh.

<sup>65</sup> A close variant of this tale is also found in Wales and told by storyteller Daniel Morden.

<sup>66</sup> A tale exists from Devon of a woman who didn't believe in the pixies and enjoyed dismissing the beliefs of others (Sharman, 1952, pp. 132-136).

stop. Initially the young men would investigate the calling together, but one day the farmhand heard the voice from across the river. He called back, but the voice, instead of stopping, grew louder and the lad ran towards it, though his friend tried to stop him. He never returned, and the voice was never heard again<sup>67</sup> (Crossing, 1890, pp. 67-68; Sharman, 1952, pp. 17-19; Westwood, 1992, p. 20).

*Tiddy Mun* is the only story believed to be similar to *The Strangers' Share* (see above), though as with the latter, the motifs and the folkloric beliefs are found elsewhere.

Briggs noted the motif of the Unforgiven Dead within the tale of *The Flyin' Childer*, and that the "return of the curse upon the swearer is a motif which recurs in many legends (1969b, p. 454). The dialogue used by both the children and their father is similar to the children's game, "The Witch" (Gomme, A. 1894, pp. 391-396) which is outlined in Appendix 4.

*Fred th' Fool* contains parallels with a Lincolnshire coast story of a smuggler who, when caught, was sentenced to have his right hand chopped off. The punishment did not stop him and the next time he was caught he was ordered to pay a fine of six pounds (the equivalent of six year's work). This did halt his smuggling activities (Wynne, 1976, p. 4). Alongside this, the prevalence of arson, particularly rick burning has been explored within the economic and social history section of this thesis.

Briggs believed that *Sam'l's Ghost*<sup>68</sup> "explains the belief behind motif E.235.4 (return from dead to punish theft of part of corpse), of which there are many examples that survive in English tradition, as "The Bone" (1969b, p. 564). However, this story is about a poor family who steal a bone from a grave to make soup and as it is cooking a voice calls out "give me my bone." (1969b, p. 512)

### **3.4 DISSECTING THE FOLKLORIC CONTENT OF THE LEGENDS**

"I have given this slight outline of the district...in order to show amid what surroundings linger these wild tales of witchcraft, and the spirit-world, in this little isolated home of folk-lore...amongst a few elders, who remember the traditions of their youth, and the beliefs of their fathers, linger tales that tell of the old pagan customs, that have perhaps existed in these parts since the very dawn of

<sup>67</sup> Local people believed that the boy had fallen in the river and that every year the River Dart would claim a heart. This is much like the belief in the hunger of the River Trent outlined in 3.4.

<sup>68</sup> Sam'l was the pronunciation of Samuel in Yorkshire (Addy, 1888, p. 199).

history”(Balfour, 1891, p. 148).

### **3.4.1 Natural or Inorganic Objects**

#### **3.4.1.1 Stones**

*The Strangers' Share*, *Yallery Brown*, *The Green Mist* and *The Dead Moon*, included references to flat stones that were known as Stranger's Tables. Whilst the name is not common, the wariness of large stones and their link with fairies is found. M. Peacock found evidence in Wroot for it being “considered unlucky to meddle with...large stones in the district” (1901, p. 171). Similar beliefs were connected to the Drake stone at Anwick (Rudkin, 1934a, p. 144) and the Sack Stone at Fornaby (Weston, 1969, p. 25). At Nafferton Slack, East Yorkshire, Gutch noted that music resonated from a large stone, which glowed at night, and at which, fairies appeared in procession (Gutch, 1912, p. 57).

The story of Grim<sup>69</sup> refers to two magic stones in north-east Lincolnshire, which helped the people who were suffering from famine and drought. Situated at North Thoresby and Audby, these stones served as “focal points for ceremony, feasting, rituals and much more” (Gracie, 2002, p. 52). The devil was also said to live beneath stones at Helmswell, Spring Hills and at Winceby (Rudkin, 1934a, p. 146, p. 155).<sup>70</sup>

#### **3.4.1.2 Rivers**

An important part of the tale of *Tiddy Mun* was the offering of water to the water spirits. Gutch and Peacock found evidence of a Lincolnshire saying that “whenever water is drawn from a well a little should be thrown back into it (1908, p. 5).

Ashliman noted that “the belief that certain bodies of water demand one human death every year is widespread” (2005, p. 211). The Trent has an Aegir (or Heygre), a dangerous Equinox Tide which Cooper described as “a very stirring sight when the tide was at the full [with] huge rolling waves” that crushed boats to pieces (1897, p. 29). Sutton found that an informant in Gainsborough in the 1920s remembered how when he was a boy he would throw a piece of silver into the River Trent as “a toll fee to prevent you from ever drowning in the Trent...” (1997, p. 40).

---

<sup>69</sup> The town of Grimsby was named after this legendary character.

<sup>70</sup> Davies noted the belief that witches also met at the sites where fairy sightings occurred (1999, p. 185).



Sutton noted that “the River Trent was a greedy river and would take seven lives a year, so in March when many of the lambs were born a farmer would sacrifice to the river a cade or weak lamb. He believed that by his action a human life will be spared” (1997, p. 35).

### 3.4.1.3 The Dark

Fear of the dark is a common feature of the *Legends*. This belief is commonly presumed to be hereditary and found around the world (Douglas, 1966, 13; Weaver & Tamborini, 1966, p. 26, Ekirch, 2005, p.119). Widdowson noted that:

“we may people the darkness...with shadowy figures, both named and nameless, and invest these beings with certain powers and characteristics which reflect our fears both public and private (Widdowson, 1971, p. 101).

Parents have throughout the ages frightened their children so that they would not wander off into the dark, by telling them about the creatures such as the 'bogeyman' (Warner, 2007, p. 33, pp. 42-47; Widdowson, 1971, pp. 99-115).

As outlined in the section on the effects of Opium on the imagination (2.6.1), it is likely that some of the people of the Carrs saw 'dead folk' or 'dead hands' (as mentioned in *Tiddy Mun* and *The Dead Moon*) and imagine that they were trying to pull people into the water.<sup>71</sup> A story about a ghost that appeared out of the water and tried to pull people down into it was collected by Barrett in Cambridgeshire (1964, pp. 99-110). Likewise in 1989 in Lincolnshire, Codd was warned by an old man, who was born in the early years of the century, that if he went too near Whisby Pits “the Dead Hand” would get him (2007, p. 161).

The horrors of the bogs could also be present in daylight including the danger of sinking down beneath the springy top layer (Meredith, 2002, p. 320). A graphic account exists of a boy from the Fens, who sunk in the mud, up to his armpits, whilst out bird scaring who managed to survive for nineteenth hours in the bitter February cold until he was rescued (Saunders, 1891, p. 156; Bevis, 1983, p. 4).

The people would also have been aware of the large number of carnivorous plants that could be found in the bogs, including the sundew, which has tentacles that suddenly stretch out to enfold the victim (an insect or small animal) and tighten their grip. In such

---

<sup>71</sup> The Bible also includes the belief that *Dead things* are formed from under the water, and the inhabitants thereof...(Job 12:5).

a way the creature is squeezed to death (Meredith, 2002, p.326).

#### **3.4.1.4 The Moon**

*The Dead Moon* includes the detail that “folk put pennies in their pockets and straws in their caps” at the time of the New Moon (p. 161) and the *Tiddy Mun* ritual was at this time. In Lincolnshire, Rudkin found that people would,

On seeing the New Moon for the first time, turn over the money in your pocket, turn round three times while you wish then bow (or curtsy) to the moon three times, and your wish will come true (Rudkin, 1933a, p. 197).

Sutton confirmed this practice (1997, p. 41).<sup>72</sup> It was once a commonly held belief that if you did something at the time of the new and waxing moon it would increase as the moon grew larger in appearance (Cashford, 2003, p. 56). Similar rituals were found elsewhere in Lincolnshire (Peacock, 1901, p. 166; Rudkin, 1933b, p. 291) and Yorkshire (Gutch, 1901, p. 42). The moon was known as the village lantern or lamp in Lincolnshire (Sutton, 1997, p. 41) and the Parish lantern in the Fens and elsewhere (Randall, 1966, p. 18, Ekirch, 2005, p. 128). The fear of the nights remaining dark led to feelings of relief when the new moon first appeared and evolved into the many new moon customs (Roud 2003, p. 317-9, Radford & Hole 1978, p. 77-78) including within Lincolnshire (Peacock 1901, p. 166, Rudkin 1933b, p. 291).

Regarding the final comment in the tale, on the brightness of the moon over the Carrs, in North Lincolnshire, it is often noticed by local inhabitants that the full moon does indeed shine very bright – bright enough to keep people from falling into the drains and ditches if out after dark.<sup>73</sup>

The personification of the moon, as found in *The Dead Moon*, can be found in the popular saying “I see the moon, and the moon sees me; God bless the moon, and God bless me.” In Yorkshire nurses would say “Moon penny bright as silver, come and play with little childer”, (Opie & Opie, 1966, p. 312)

#### **3.4.1.5 Flowers**

Cowslips were a key feature in the tale of *The Green Mist*, they were once abundant and accessible as the buttercup...(Mabey, 1998, p. 79). These flowers were noted as

---

<sup>72</sup> Such customs were also found in other places around the country (Thistelton-Dyer, 1878, p. 36; Cashford, 2003, p. 62; Roud, 2003, pp. 317-319; Radford & Hole, 1978, pp. 77-78).

<sup>73</sup> Tim Davies email 19/4/12.

being linked to the fairies and were known in Lincolnshire as “the fairy cup” (Thiselton-Dyer, 1889, Ch7).<sup>74</sup> The cowslip has also been regarded in the past, as healing 'decline' or tuberculosis (Allen & Hatfield, 2004, p. 125; Trevelyan, 1973, p. 91). In some places having a cowslip in the house was seen as a portent of death, though elsewhere having a posy of them left on the doorstep was believed to encourage the fairies to bless the house (Kear, 2000, p. 187). In Gainsborough, bunches of cowslips would be hung in cowsheds to keep the witches away (Sutton, 1997, p. 105).

#### **3.4.1.6 Birds**

The call of the peewit (or pyewipe) was said to herald the coming of *Tiddy Mun*. Swainson found that the bird, properly called the Lapwing or Green Plover was universally held in bad esteem. A Russian tale relates how its call is a desperate cry for a drink. The bird was said to have failed to help God to supply the seas, lakes etc. with water, and as a punishment it was only allowed to drink from hollows and among stones after rain. (1885, p. 185).

The call of other birds was also significant in Lincolnshire. Heanley noted that Boston fishermen feared the curlew and “the cry of the Seven Whistlers” which was seen as a warning to sail home or “if they neglected the friendly warning of their drowned brethren, some dire calamity would come upon them before the morrow morn” (1903, p. 41).

Similarly, bad luck was shown by the croak of the crow (Swaby, 1891, p. 84) and, again in Boston the appearance of cormorants which the locals called 'Doom Birds' was believed to signal that someone in the community was soon to die (Coleman, 2010, p. 12).

Another eerie sound was heard each January when wild geese fly across the marshland, in great numbers, at dusk and dawn. The weird yelping sound that they make sounds like the cry of hounds and was known as the “gabblerout” in Lincolnshire and “gabble-ratchet” in Yorkshire. Atkinson noted that some regarded the sound as an “omen of approaching death,” and related an account of a Yorkshire farm lass who on coming home at dusk one evening, “rushed hastily indoors, slammed the door to, bolted it, and flung her apron over her head.” When asked what was the matter she said “I

---

<sup>74</sup> Shakespeare described cowslips as “fairy favours” in *Midsummer Night's Dream* Act 2 Scene 1. Bown noted a revival of interest in Shakespeare in Victorian times (2001, p. 6).

heard t' gabble-ratchet; but I've stopped it fra deeing men any ho't,"(1891, p. 70). In Leeds it was believed that the sound was made by the souls of unbaptised babies (Henderson, 1866, p. 100).<sup>75</sup>

## 3.4.2 Gobblindom

### 3.4.2.1 Ghosts

The tale of *Sam'l's Ghost* included the search by Samuel to find all the parts of his body after he died. He was required to do this so that the great worm who lived under the earth could eat them and he could then go to the afterlife. He failed in his task and was destined to spend eternity searching. *The Flyin' Childer* also refers to a creature that eats the bodies of the dead (p. 407). Crossley-Holland noted that the word 'worm' is derived from the Anglo Saxon 'wyrn' which means dragon (1997, p. 209)<sup>76</sup> and that in the Norse tradition, Nidhogg the dragon lives in Hel, the realm of the dead under the Guardian Tree, Yggdrasill (1993, p. xxiii) where he eats the bodies of the dead (1993, p.15).

In a Marshland parish in the 1870s when a young man lost some of his fingers in an accident, his mother wanted them to have a "proper funeral" so that the "Lord" wouldn't have to go looking for them to put him back together (Heanley, 1891, p. 214). A boy in Barnsley, South Yorkshire<sup>77</sup> was told by his mother that "if you don't get some salt with your teeth and throw it on the fire when you die you'll be hunting round room looking for your teeth in a bag."

Lady Anne Coke of Holkham, Norfolk, after breaking her leg, found that small pieces of bone would work their way out of the injured limb. She would send these to her brother with instructions that they be buried with her. The small glass box containing such pieces was placed in her coffin after her death in 1844 (Burne, 1910, p. 105).

### 3.4.2.2 Manifestations

The first of the *Legends* concerns a water spirit known as "Tiddy Mun wi'out a name",

<sup>75</sup> Rudkin also found that down by the River Trent at Woofer Lane, Wildsworth, poachers were frightened by hearing "a shriek of mocking laughter." It was thought to be the 'old lad' (the Devil) (1933a, p. 213).

<sup>76</sup> The northern ballad of the *Lambton Worm* includes a great 'worm' as a dragon like creature. Rudkin subscribed to the belief that Ormsby, Lincolnshire was once known as Wormsby and was linked to a story of a dragon who died locally (1954, p. 388).

<sup>77</sup> Audio interview by Storr 1971.

or to translate, “tiny man without a name.”<sup>78</sup> He was described as having white hair and a long white beard, wearing grey and “walking lame.”

The folklorist Ethel Rudkin fully believed in 'Tiddymun' and described him as a friendly creature to those who lived locally but to foreigners he was an evil old man and not pleasant (Widdowson, 1973 audio file).<sup>79</sup>

Fear of creatures living in the water, that will pull you under, was a prime feature of the stories *The Dead Moon* and *The Dead Hand*. Such fear was widespread in the marsh and fen districts.<sup>80</sup>

Similarly Mabel Peacock found remnants of a belief in a creature that inhabited the watery places particularly “deep pools formed by the action of down-flowing water at the bends of...country becks.”<sup>81</sup> She also described this creature as a goblin that appeared in the shape of a small horse who would “lure an unsuspecting wayfarer into a stream, swamp, or water-hole, after which exploit he vanishes with a...half neigh, half human laughter”<sup>82</sup> (Peacock, 1891a, p. 509; Gutch & Peacock, 1908, p. 55).

Rudkin recorded the sighting in the nineteenth century of a strange creature that rowed across the River Trent at Owston Ferry on a sharp turn in the river between Wildsworth and Owston Ferry, called Jenny Hurn:

For generations this bend, or bight, has held the reputation of being haunted. Strange happenings are said to have occurred at this particular place... the most talked of being the apparition of a pygmy being, man-like with long hair and the face of a seal, that occasionally crosses the river from the eastern to the western side, embarked in a small craft resembling a large pie dish. The pygmy propels the dish rapidly across the stream by means of a minute pair of oars, the size of teaspoons. It is said that having reached shore this being crosses the road and proceeds to browse in the field to feed (Rudkin, 1936, p. 31).

Rudkin also found the creature described as having “tusks like a walrus.” She acknowledged that this creature is likely to be known in Lincolnshire as a Boggart or

---

<sup>78</sup> It is common to call fairy creatures anything other than their generic name (Opie & Tatum, 1989, p. 147; Briggs, 1976, p. xv; Evans-Wentz, 1911, p. 274). Williams noted that the meaning of the term 'fairy' was never fixed in the past (1991, p. 457).

<sup>79</sup> Widdowson confirmed that Rudkin had been frightened by her parents with threats of 'Tiddymun' (2009).

<sup>80</sup> In Yorkshire the creature was commonly known as Tommy Raw-Head (Addy, 1891, p. 60), Jenny Greenteeth, or Peg-o'-the-well and Peg Fowler (Gutch, 1901, p. 25) the latter being a “malicious sprite with long green tresses and an insatiable desire for human life.” In Cambridgeshire there was a fear of the Hookey Man, who was also known as Jack Hooker (Howat, 2012). There is also evidence from the east coast of Lincolnshire of the creature being known as Loggerbogman.

<sup>81</sup> These were known as “bull holes.”

<sup>82</sup> Tatterfoal, Tatter-colt, or Shag-foal.

Boggard. Ella confirmed that the local villagers would avoid walking near the bend, preferring to use a winding, muddy track known as the Half Part. They would say “There wo'd ha been noa Haaf Paater if it hadn't been fer Jinny-on boggard.” Mariners would also avoid mooring overnight near the bend (Ella, 2010, p. 50).

A number of the *Legends*, particularly *The Dead Moon*, mention another wetland phenomenon, that was much feared, namely the Ignus Fatuus.<sup>83</sup> This self-igniting marsh gas appeared as small flickering flames on the surface of the water. Known in North Lincolnshire as Peggy-Lantern or Peggy-wi'-her Lantern<sup>84</sup> some people believed these lights to be the spirits of un-baptised babies who had died and were doomed to “wander about in ruined and deserted places or flit restlessly around the parents”(Thompson 1995 reprint of 1932, p. 29; Heanley, 1903, p. 41). Dead babies flitting round their mothers was one of the phenomena found in *Tiddy Mun* during the pacification ritual (p. 155).

As in the *Legends*, it was commonly believed that a “wayfarer at night could be enticed by the flames away from his path to a certain death in the marsh” by the Will o' the Wisps (Porter, 1969, p. 64).<sup>85</sup> Rudkin researched this spectacle in Lincolnshire and found one type looked rather like a bicycle lamp and hovered quite some distance above the ground,<sup>86</sup> the other, seen in the Blyton Carrs was redder in colour and ‘danced’ close to the ground and looked ‘like a man carrying a lantern’. It was said that this latter type would move quickly from place to place and if you followed it, you would be led “into a bog” (1938, p. 47). John Clare saw and recorded having seen both of these apparitions with the latter gliding “onwards as if a man was riding on horseback at full speed with a lanthorn light” (Codd, 2010, p. 184).<sup>87</sup>

Wynne noted the sighting of a light described as a 'goblin' on a farm in Louth (1976, p. 8), Saunders found evidence near Deeping (1891, p. 287) and M Peacock recorded sightings in Wrawby and Bottesford Moors and noted the belief that "No one should look at a Peggy-Lantern, because it is a spirit, and will make folks follow it against their

<sup>83</sup> The Latin meaning of Ignis Fatuus is 'foolish fire'. The phenomenon is known variously as Will-o-the-wikes, Will-o'-the-Wisps, Willie Wisps, Jenny Lanterns, Jenny-Whisp, Jack o' Lantern and in the Cambridgeshire Fens as The Lantern Man (Rushden, 1989, p. 16).

<sup>84</sup> *Tiddy Mun* is the only *Legend* that calls this phenomena Jack o' Lanterns (p. 154).

<sup>85</sup> This belief was still common in North Lincolnshire in recent decades (email from Lynne Langley October 2011).

<sup>86</sup> The notes for *Sam'l's Ghost* include within the introduction “Light at Yule – invisible hand – if stop at door, someone dies.” This sounds like an Ignus Fatuus.

<sup>87</sup> The same apparitions were also described by Wentworth Day (1954b, p. 154) as existing in the pre-drained fens in Cambridgeshire where they were also known as Hob o' Lanterns.

will into bog holes and suchlike places" (Bennett, 2010, Ch3, p. 18).

Sportsmen on the Cambridgeshire marshes at night would never whistle to their dogs as whistling was seen as a certain means of calling the Lantern Man.<sup>88</sup> Such a creature was seen by a Norfolk man:

who, crossing the 'medders' at night whistled to his dog and brought up a Lantern Man. The whistler bolted for shelter, into a friend's house, who in bravado brought out a horn lantern on a long pole. The Lantern Man hurled himself at it, and the lantern was found with all the horn burnt up as though it had been in a fire.<sup>89</sup> However the usual method of protection from the apparition was "to lie face downwards with the mouth buried in the mud so that the Lantern Man will pass over the prostrate body."<sup>90</sup>

A different description of 'Jack o' Lantern' described him as a "little owd man with a hoppity leg" (Wentworth Day, 1954a, p. 142). This sounds not dissimilar to *Tiddy Mun* and is also similar to the descriptions of 'Jack o' Lanterns' found in the America:

In some Southern Seaboard states it was regarded as a hideous creature, five feet in height, with goggle eyes and huge mouth – its body covered with long hair – which goes leaping and bounding through the air like a giant grasshopper. The frightful apparition, stronger than any man and swifter than any horse, compels its victims to follow it into a swamp, where it leaves them to die (Hand, 1977, p. 228).

### 3.4.2.3 Fairies

Names found within the *Legends* for fairy creatures are Greencoaties,<sup>91</sup> Earthkin (Yarthkin),<sup>92</sup> Strangers<sup>93</sup> and Tod-lowrys.<sup>94</sup> The latter was a Lincolnshire term for a 'hobgoblin' (Gutch & Peacock., 1908, p. 58) however, as mentioned above Boggart (or Boggard) was by far the most popular term for such a creature.<sup>95</sup> Greencoaties, a term used because the creatures were said to wear green jackets is not a common term though, the clothing of fairy creatures is often green (Green, 1962, p. 95; Hazlitt, 1905,

<sup>88</sup> This phenomenon was briefly explored by Westwood & Simpson (2005, pp. 492-493).

<sup>89</sup> Eastern Counties Folklore Society 1936-39 item 14.1, p.19.

<sup>90</sup> In Yorkshire the solution was to "put a steel knife into the ground, with the handle upwards; and the Will-o'-the- Wisp will run round this until the knife is burnt up, and you will thus have the means of escaping" (Gutch, 1901, p. 44).

<sup>91</sup> *The Strangers' Share* (p. 279). Briggs stated that Mrs Wright included the term 'Greencoaties' in her 1913 book *Rustic Speech and Folklore* (1976, p. 204); however, I have been unable to find such an entry.

<sup>92</sup> *The Strangers' Share* (p. 279)

<sup>93</sup> *Yallery Brown* (p. 265) and *The Strangers' Share*.

<sup>94</sup> *Tiddy Mun* (p. 150)

<sup>95</sup> Also used as a general term in Lincolnshire for a ghost or apparition (Elder, 1997, p. 68; Peacock, 1897, p. 377). Boggarts were also recorded at Lidgett's Gap, Sturton by Scawby and Wainfleet (Heanley, 1903, p. 39; Lawson, 1887, p. 6).

p. 220; Westwood, 1992, p. 454; Davies, 1999, p. 187). The teller of *The Strangers' Share* described the little creatures as being:

very tiny creatures, no more than a span high, with their arms and legs as thin as thread, but great big feet and hands, and heads rolling about on their shoulders. They wear grass green jackets and breeches, and yellow bonnets, for all the world like toad-stools on their heads; and queer bit faces, with long noses, and wide mouths, and great red tongues hanging out and flap-flapping about (Balfour, 1891, p. 279).

This is more like the description in Shakespeare, though tiny fairies were also mentioned in *Tom Thumb's Pretty Songbook* (1744) (Darnton, 1984, p. 42). Calvert found that in Yorkshire people said that the fairies were normally only a few inches high but they could transform themselves to human size if desired (Annis 1978). Dasent recorded a story of little people, dressed in green, with delicate wings, dancing (1859, p. 129).

These 'Strangers' were believed to "help the corn to ripen, and all the green things to grow..." (Balfour, 1891, p. 280). Fairy creatures were also said to keep the flowers clean and fresh (Purkiss, 2000, p. 258; Sharman, 1952, p. 22).

Regarding land based spirits, such as found in *The Strangers' Share*, Spence found that water was left out for the fairies "in which they might wash themselves" (1946, p. 177) and Codd recalled that at Owmbly-by-Spital, Lincolnshire people left a basin of water out for the 'fairies' at the time of the full moon (2007, p. 74).

*The Green Mist* includes putting offerings of bread and salt out on the flat stones, to get a good harvest (p. 259) and *The Strangers' Share* states that after meals, families would leave a drop of bread, milk or beer in the fireplace for the 'Greencoaties' (p. 280). Within Lincolnshire there is evidence that a family, at Midsummer, put "a thimbleful of frumenty for the fairies" near the back door. (Sutton, 1997, p. 134) The Yorkshire based Calvert Manuscript includes a recipe for honey cakes to be given to the fairies dating from 1605 (Annis, 1978).<sup>96</sup>

The Eastern Counties Folklore Society also recorded the survival of a

custom which is still very strictly observed...the first piece of food cut off for a meal should be thrown away as a libation to the fairies, and the custom of putting out a bowl of milk, or bread and milk for the fairies, is still practised. There is a certain reluctance to admit it, but the fact that the bowl is carefully placed just

---

<sup>96</sup> This is a practice that had been noted since Medieval times (Thomas, 1991, p. 728).



where the cat cannot get it robs the conventional explanation of some of its value.<sup>97</sup>

Newman & Wilson also stated that a few drops of any drink was also given away, and that the action seemed to be mechanical, “an example of the survival of a ritual whose meaning has been forgotten”<sup>98</sup> (1952, p. 97-98).

‘Regarding the terms Strangers (indicative of their status), and Earthkins or Yarthkins (denoting that the creatures live in the earth), I have been unable to locate evidence for the general use of these names, though Briggs acknowledged their use in her *Dictionary...* (1976, p. 383, p. 447) and Rudkin, included them, within quotes from the *Legends*, in a paper read before the Folklore Society and later published (1954).

*Yallery Brown* includes mention of fairy-rings (p. 264), which have been described as circles “in the grass, believed to be made by fairies dancing thereon.” Spence recorded the belief that “they [the elves] make so deep an impression on earth that no grass grows there, being burned with extreme heat” (1946, p. 180). Green provided more information that such rings are “where mushrooms grow”<sup>99</sup> (1962, p. 95) and Hazlitt added that they had “fine musicke” (1905, p. 230) which Keightley defined as being produced by the cricket, the grasshopper, and the frog (1870, p. 315). In *The Strangers' Share* the music was said to have been played by the crickets (p. 279).

*The Strangers' Share* also states that the fairies would dance on the flat stones in the summer and on the fire-place in winter (p. 279). Within Lincolnshire accounts of informants seeing fairies dancing at dusk,<sup>100</sup> have been recorded by the wood side of the park at Blyborough and at Brumby Common, Scunthorpe (Peacock, 1901, p. 170; Bennett, 2010, ch.3, p. 3; Swaby, 1891, p. 84). Fairies were once seen in a field between Bag-Enderby and Somersby known as “Fairies' Holt” (Gutch & Peacock, 1908, p 170).<sup>101</sup>

<sup>97</sup> Eastern Counties Folklore Society item 14.3 fairies p1.

<sup>98</sup> In the Fens the recipient of the offerings was transferred to witches, and Barrett recalled how people would leave food “outside the door for a wandering witch to collect for her supper, who never appeared in human form” (Briggs, 1965, p. 59).

<sup>99</sup> These are likely to be the same as that identified as a fungal growth pattern in 1792 by William Withering which was due to a species called *Marasmius oreades*, whose modern common name is the fairy ring mushroom. This is one of 60 or so different species which produce fairy rings. Baring-Gould recorded an incident in Cornwall of such a mushroom being picked from within a fairy ring and the daughter dying within a week (1899, p. 174).

<sup>100</sup> Briggs noted that twilight was one of the times of danger when the ‘fairies’ might be about (1970, p. 95). The popularity of the belief in fairies dancing could have been enhanced by the Gilbert & Sullivan play *Iolanthe* (1882) which includes a chorus of such fairies.

<sup>101</sup> ‘In the Laureates County’ in *Stamford Mercury*, 7 June 1889, p.6.

#### 3.4.2.4 Hobs

The creature *Yallery Brown* was described as being no bigger than a year old baby, with knotted yellow hair and a beard, twisted round his brown, wrinkled body so you couldn't see his clothes (p. 266). He could be compared to the accounts of 'Brownie's' who are "of small stature, wrinkled visage, covered with short curly brown hair, and wearing a brown mantle and hood." Like the Brownies or Hobs, as they were known in Yorkshire, such creatures would help around the house or farm (Keightley, 1870, p. 375).<sup>102</sup> A Yorkshire account of a household sprite described it as:

of the good and useful sort when well used...a shaggy being [who] hid in the house by day, he comes forth by night, and on the following morning is found to have done various turns for the maids in domestic work...His good treatment by the household consists in leaving him victuals in nightly portion<sup>103</sup> (Gutch, 1901, pp. 132-133).

A similar household fairy story was collected at East Halton (M. Peacock, 1891a, p. 509; Binnall, 1940, p. 219). Described as "a weeny bit of a fellow who used to do all kinds of work about the fields, stackyard and dairy" the creature "used to live at a homestead in, or near Goxhill" (M. Peacock, 1891b). In Essex, a hob was found to be helping within the stables, doing similar work to *Yallery Brown* but he left when he was spied upon (Newman & Wilson, 1952, p. 97). Simpson, however noted that the house elf or hob, puck, pixy, doobby or brownie is not always down-trodden, "Rather he is very much in control and can punish slovenly servants, and cause havoc, by "mischievous pranks" (2011, p. 77).

#### 3.4.3 Witchcraft and the Evil-Eye

There was much belief in and fear of witches in Lincolnshire (Swaby, 1891, p. 84; Gutch & Peacock, 1908, pp. 67-89). M. Peacock believed that witches and wizards were abundant and declared that she had "been acquainted with at least four people suspected of 'knowing more than they should' (1891a, p. 510).<sup>104</sup> Rudkin found testimony for thirteen witch cases and two wisemen/wizards (1934b, p. 254) including a witch at Grasby, 15miles away by road, but less 'as the crow flies' from Redbourne.

Regarding the prevalence of wise-women within the *Legends*, Peacock recorded the

---

<sup>102</sup> In Keightley's accounts there are also short rhymes.

<sup>103</sup> The number of these 'hobs' in Yorkshire can be evidenced by the number of linked place names, particularly on the Yorkshire Moors - *Gazette and Herald* 7 February 2002 [online].

<sup>104</sup> Peacock also noted a case at the end of the 18th century there was an outbreak of witchcraft at Winterton and the people went to see the wise men of Hull (Bennett, 2010, chapter 4, p. 5).

belief that wise-women or wise-men were “those who practise beneficial magic;” however, his daughter only recorded testimony on wise-men (Gutch & Peacock, 1908, pp. 100-105). Philip noted that within a village the midwife might also double as a ‘wise woman’ dispensing herbal remedies and homely charms (1993, p. 84).<sup>105</sup> An Archdeacon at Messingham complained in 1823, that “herbs and spells were cheaper and possibly no less efficacious than a doctor’s prescription” (Olney, 1979, p. 53).

*Tiddy Mun* contained a reference to the throwing of stones at a suspected witch and of her charming dead men out of their graves (p. 153). Regarding the latter, the only mention of this practice comes from the Appalachian version of the Child Ballad *The Twa Brothers*. Retitled *The Rolling of the Stones*, it includes the line “charmed her true love out of his grave.” However, Stewart found an English version of the song in which the last verse is “But when young Suzy heard of this, She charmed the birds from out their nests, She charmed young John all out of his grave, Where he was all at rest.” (1977, p. 24). Regarding the former, it is also more likely that a suspected witch would have been swum rather than stoned though the Old Testament refers to the latter, particularly as the teller of the story seemed familiar with the Biblical texts.<sup>106</sup>

*The Dead Moon* includes mention of witches riding on black cats.<sup>107</sup> There is much superstition around the country connected with black cats (Roud, 2003, p. 66) and also Lincolnshire accounts of witches reputed to assume the form of a cat, a dog, a hare or a hedgehog. It was also believed that they could become invisible and ride on broomsticks (Gutch, 1901, pp. 167-168; Rudkin, 1934b, p. 261). However, there is one reference to an alleged witch being carried “by one of the hags and a demonic cat”<sup>108</sup> (Kittredge, 1929, p. 269).

There are also references within the *Legends* to the evil eye and to for-spelling. E. Peacock recorded in the Toothache Book (page 18) the account of a farmer who had an evil eye and his daughter noted that this was prevalent around the county (Peacock, 1891a, p. 510; Bennett, 2010, Ch. 4. p. 17; Gutch & Peacock, 1908, pp. 90-91).

<sup>105</sup> Also see section 2.5.3.

<sup>106</sup> “A man also or woman that hath a familiar spirit, or that is a wizard, shall surely be put to death: they shall stone them with stones.” Leviticus xx. 27” quoted in Newman, 1946, p. 16. A case of swimming was recorded by the Eastern Counties Folklore Society, in Suffolk with a man accused of witchcraft. (item 19, p. 107)

<sup>107</sup> Black snags that turned into snakes are also referred to in *Tiddy Mun*.

<sup>108</sup> This has been given number G241.1.4 within the motif index of Baughman (1966, p. 246).

### 3.4.4 Charms and Spells

*The Green Mist* includes the ritual for protecting the houses from evil by walking round with light; speaking words and smearing blood on the door step (p. 259) and *The Dead Moon* includes the placing a pinch of salt, a straw and a button on the door sill at night (p. 162).

A button was used for protection in the Balkans. A “button and loop crocheted and laid on top of the swaddling clothes, so that anyone who looked at the baby with the Evil Eye ‘would burst and die’. It protected against witches and other beings as well as against the evil eye” (Vukanović 1989, p. 23, Rorie 1934, p. 162). No folkloric references have been located regarding the placing buttons on the doorsill for protection in England; however, if they included iron they could have been used for such purposes.<sup>109</sup>

Candlelight was widely believed to protect from demons that might be around during thunderstorms, especially if the candles used had been blessed by the church at Candlemas (Duffy, 1992, p. 82; Opie & Tatum, 1989, p. 54). In North Lincolnshire, and other places it was believed that a “wax candle burning is right powerful in keeping away evil spirits much more so than a tallow” (Peacock Toothache Book, p30, Ekirch, 2005, p. 101).

Thoms explored various translations of a ‘night spell’ which was included in Chaucer’s *The Miller’s Tale*. The words “I sign you with the cross against elves and evil creatures” were said toward the four quarters of the house and on the threshold of the outside door (Hieatt & Hieatt, 1971, p. 163; Kolve, 2007, p. 70; Thoms, 1878, p. 147, Ekirch 2005, p. 99).

Blood on the door sill was mentioned as a form of protection in the Bible.<sup>110</sup> In the Cambridgeshire Fens, blood was reputed to have been mixed into the mortar to be used on the brickwork of chimneys and hearths, either to bring good luck or to protect against witchcraft (Porter, 1969, p. 181). M. Peacock, when hearing about a bottle containing a number of pins stuck into a dark substance, speculated that this was an example of “the degenerate form of blood-sacrifice still prevailing in England.” (Peacock, 1891c, p. 114). The belief in the protective powers of salt date back to before the reformation (Duffy 1992, p. 282; Opie & Tatum, 1989, p. 54). Peacock found that

<sup>109</sup> Roud explored the use of iron for protection (2003, p. 264-265).

<sup>110</sup> Exodus 12:7.

salt was used to ward off evil or bewitching in North Lincolnshire, east of the Trent (1901, p. 174) and in many places it was sprinkled on the floor, the hearths, in the corners and door-sills for protection (Lowerison, 1909, p. 217; Lykiardopoulous, 1981, p. 226, Barrett file 1).

*The Green Mist* contains evidence of the lifting of a spade of earth and the crumbling and scattering of bread and salt in spring, along with the mumbling of words (p. 261). As Thomas reasoned “in the absence of weed-killers, there were charms to keep weeds out of the corn, and...there were also charms to increase the land's fertility” (1991, p. 776). Sutton found that on 21st March, the Vernal equinox, people in Lincolnshire would wake the “sleeping spirits in the earth.” At Swineshead, it was once

the custom for farmers to throw four clods of earth across the field to wake the sleeping spirits in the earth...Ebenezer Wilson used to do it. He'd throw a clod to each corner of the field. The four corners were to represent the north, south, east and west, but strictly speaking, by throwing into the corners it didn't make it quite right, he should have thrown from the middle, forwards, backwards, left and right<sup>111</sup> (Sutton, 1997, p. 40).

Bread has much folklore connected to it because of its biblical connections (Briggs, 1976, p. 335; Thompson, 1995, p. 117) and was often laid in the first furrow as part of a ritual to ensure the fertility of a field (Menefee, 1980, p. 180). Opie & Tatum noted that this tradition dates back to at least the 11th century and would occur not just for the spring but also autumn plantings (1989, p. 157). In Sussex and Normandy farmers were known to drop cake into furrows for luck (Baker, 1974, pp. 7-18).<sup>112</sup>

Philip speculated that the words referred to in the description of *The Green Mist* ritual, could be a remnant of the Anglo-Saxon charm which begins ‘Erce, Erce, Erce, eorpan, motor’ (1992, p. 156). The Earth Mother is evoked and a lengthy ritual carried out during which four turfs from the corners of a field would be dug up, the soil underneath anointed, the turves blessed by four masses in the church, and then replaced. Alongside this offerings of bread were placed under the first furrow (Gummere, 1892, p. 407; Grendon, 1909, p. 177; Gomme, 1883a, p. 137, 140; Cockayne, 1864, p. 399; Phythian-Adams, 1975, p. 9).

---

<sup>111</sup> Sutton noted that the custom was still being carried out within living memory.

<sup>112</sup> Westwood acknowledged that the widespread story known as ‘The Cake in the Furrow’ was believed to be a “relic of the practice of making offerings of food and drink in the fields at the start of the year's ploughing. The offering was sometimes put in the furrow or thrown on to the field.” (1992, p. 278).

Within *The Green Mist* there was also mention of the pouring water into the four corners of the field when rain was needed and the singing of hush-a-bye songs in the fields in the Autumn to help the earth sleep (pp. 259-261). Evidence for the former can be found in a reference by Opie and Tatum of the medieval and early modern allegations that witches would sprinkle water into the air to induce rain (1989, p. 431).<sup>113</sup> The latter has been documented in Lincolnshire at the Harvest celebration. The foreman would crumble a cake and throw a handful outside the door "This for a good harvest," he would say and then crumble some more saying "This for the birds." The third handful was cast over his left shoulder with the words, "And this for luck"<sup>114</sup> (Bennett, 2010, Ch1, p. 20). Similarly, in the Cambridgeshire Fens, it was recorded that "after harvest home...two generations ago... the offering of libation to the stacks and to the cattle after dinner was quite usual."<sup>115</sup>

*The Dead Hand* includes reference to "bits o' paper wi' varses oot o' th' Bible, crinkled oop in a nutshell" and how "Bible-spells or varses" were written by a wise woman (p. 272). *Tiddy Mun* also mentions 'Bible Balls'. Briggs described the latter, as being "a leaf stolen from a bible and crumpled into a small ball" (1976, p. 396). The practise of copying out passages from the scriptures had been noted from Medieval times (Duffy, 1992, p. 277). Thomas found that "any prayer or piece of the Scriptures might have a mystical power waiting to be tapped" and that hundreds of charms have survived (1991, p. 51, p. 213).

Much evidence has been found from late 19<sup>th</sup> century Eastern Europe of people wearing amulets and talismans consisting of sacred words from prayers of objects believed to be protective. The written amulet was usually worn in a container or in a cloth or leather pouch hidden among the clothes or on a chain around the neck (Vukanović, 1989, p. 226). In Oxford a piece of parchment decorated with several odd inscriptions in a cloth bag was found on the body of an old dead woman in 1687 (Ettlinger, 1943, p. 243).

In Lincolnshire, Penny, referring to about 1845 recalled that a mother and daughter wore charms "hung in a bag from a piece of tape around their necks" to guard against

<sup>113</sup> Monks at St Edmundsbury used to go round the wheat fields at the end of October carrying special wax candles. They believed this prevented weeds from growing amongst the corn. (Lambeth, 1974, p. 17). This could be compared to the church tradition of Rogation, a common practice, which was carried out in Kirton Lindsey and other places in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Brears, 1940, p.64).

<sup>114</sup> This links to a common (particularly in Catholic countries) belief in the devil whispering wicked things into the ear on the left shoulder whilst an angel is on the other (Bateson, 1923, p.242).

<sup>115</sup> Eastern Counties Folklore Society Item 14.3, Libations.

witchcraft (1915, p. 27). Another report survives of a charm that was worn to protect against the ague which said “Ague, farewell, Till we meet in Hell.” The latter was abandoned by the carrier when she was told what it said and how sinful such superstitions were (Thiselton-Dyer, 1878, pp. 158-162).

*The Dead Hand* also includes many mentions of “safe-keeps” (p. 272) including “three straws and a four-leafed clover tied with the hair of a dead man; clippings from a dead woman’s nails.” Though straws (see below) and four-leafed clovers (Opie & Tatum, 1989, pp. 88-89; Roud, 2003, pp. 102-103) were regarded as providing protection, the nails and hair are not commonly connected to them. However, this evidence may have been influenced by the belief in the power of witch bottles to protect. Such bottles, which included nail clippings and hair were found hidden in houses in Lincolnshire, the Fens and elsewhere (Saunders, 1891, p. 71, p114; Bennett, 2010, Ch.4).

Peacock noted the use of simple amulets such as ‘car-oak’, pieces of shells, horse teeth and coins, worn on watch chains in Lincolnshire (1908, p. 87). Similarly Jones noted that chestnut or potato was carried by some people “to ward of rheumatiz” and moles feet to cure fits (1890, p. 43).

Within the tale of *The Dead Moon*, the wise woman recommended the carrying of a hazel twig and the placing of a stone in the mouth whilst searching for the Moon (p. 163). In Lincolnshire, bunches of hazel or willow twigs were preserved in pots of water in cottage windows to protect the occupants from thunder and lightning (Gutch & Peacock, 1908, p. 23). Hazel was also believed to be a magical tree that could provide protection against ‘necromancy’ (Smith & Rudkin, 1935, p. 376; Briggs, 1967, p. 83).<sup>116</sup> Howat has speculated that the men in the story may have been carrying hazel wand for dowsing purposes, so that they could ‘feel’ when they were near water. Such use of hazel has been noted by Jefferies (1879, p. 210) and Porter (1969, p. 65).

In Digby, Lincolnshire the carrying of a smooth, round, white pebble in the pocket was believed to bring good luck (Rudkin, 1933a, p. 192). Howat found evidence in the Fens of an old man, who when a child was told that if he was thirsty he should suck on a white smooth stone. He was informed that a white stone was better than one of

<sup>116</sup> A very common form of protection, not just in Lincolnshire but elsewhere was the wicken (also known as the rowan or mountain ash tree), which was used to ward off witches and protect against the ‘evil eye’ (Penny, 1915, p. 27, p. 44; Peacock, 1891a, p. 510; Johnson, 1937, p. 83; Gutch & Peacock, 1908, p. 26; Jones, 1890, p. 43; Thistelton-Dyer, 1878, p. 13).

another colour as it contained “more milk!” (Howat, 2012).

Saying the Lords’ prayer forwards and backwards, the former because of “the cross” and the latter “to keep off the bogles”, was mentioned in *The Dead Moon* (p. 164). Tiddy regarded it as a form of magical incantation (1972, p. 84). This has been recorded in Yorkshire and elsewhere as a means of raising the devil or the spirits (Turner, 1888, p. 83; Burne, 1909, p. 205; Menefee, 1985, p. 11; Parker, 1913, p. 84; Salmon, 1902, p. 427; Opie & Tatum, 1989, p. 316).

Within the narrative of *Tiddy Mun*, there is mention of spitting to the east to keep the todlowries off (p. 153). This fits with the motif D2071.1.1. But refers to Ireland or Denmark (Thompson, 1955-8, p. 365). Similarly, *The Flyin’ Childer* includes swearing over the left shoulder (p. 403)<sup>117</sup> this side was seen in the past as the unlucky side (Opie & Tatum, 1989, p. 230; Sharman, 1952, p. 97) and was known as the sinister side. In folk belief and Catholicism it was the side on which evil spirits were believed to reside.

### 3.4.5 Magic and Divination

The wise-woman in *The Dead Moon* used the brew pot, mirror and Book (p. 162) to look for the whereabouts of the moon. There is evidence that mirrors have been used for divining for centuries (Davies, 1999, p. 218, p. 225; Thomas, 1991, p. 138; Hazlitt, 1905, p. 274; Opie & Tatum, 1989, p. 251; Thompson, 1995 reprint of 1932, p. 128). Codd recorded cases in Lincolnshire, of a ‘wise man’ who drew a face on the surface of a mirror as part of a ritual to get rid of a bewitchment, and a woman who saw wraiths in a mirror (2007, p. 53, p. 66).

The patterns of the dregs of tea, coffee and wine have each been used as a means of fortune-telling (Davies, 1999, p. 140). *The Grantham Journal* gave specific details of tea-leaf divination in Lincolnshire (Gutch & Peacock, 1908, p. 138) as did Porter in Cambridgeshire (1969, p. 390).

Regarding the 'Book', the use of the capital letter indicates that Balfour took this to be the Bible, which was frequently used, and had been since at least Medieval times, for divination (Thomas, 1991, p. 139; Hazlitt, 1905, p. 152; Opie & Tatum 1989, pp. 24-25).<sup>118</sup> In many places, including in Lincolnshire, this was often done on New Years’

<sup>117</sup> In Lincolnshire, and elsewhere, if salt was spilled accidentally it would be followed by the casting of a pinch of salt over the left side to avert bad luck (Roud, 2003, p. 392).

<sup>118</sup> Divination using a key and a Bible used to be widespread (Heanley, 1903, p. 54; Gutch & Peacock,



morning when people would “open a bible first of all, saying that the verse the eye first rests on (or thumb touches) foretells what the New Year will be (Jones, 1891, p. 139).

However, the book could have been a witches book, such as described by Davies who found that a witch’s power was often facilitated by the inheritance of such books, which were likely to contain spells (1999, p. 181). Penny found evidence in the Horncastle area of a wise man consulting a big book that looked “like a family bible, only it was not a bible, but had strange marks and figures on it instead of words.” (1922, p. 29)<sup>119</sup>

### **3.4.6 Yule Customs**

*The Green Mist* also includes references to Yule rituals including candles and cakes. A Yule Candle was “a tall wax candle, half a yard in length,” specially burnt in houses on Christmas Eve in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire and elsewhere (Blanchard, 1917, p. 106; Morris, 1892; Oliver, 1832, p. 28; Gutch, 1901, pp. 275-276; Addy, 1895, p. 105). The candle was lit at supper-time and was usually the gift of the family grocer (Wilson, 1903, p. 180).

A Yule Cake was served on Christmas Eve in Lincolnshire. It was “sliced, toasted and soaked in spicy ale” and it was unlucky if a portion was not kept for Christmas Day (Oliver, 1832, p. 28; Heanley, 1903, p. 40; Gutch & Peacock, 1908, p. 215, p. 218; Opie & Tatum, 1989, p. 75; Addy, 1895, p. 104). These cakes have been described as being small round cakes, baked not in tins, but on bare shelves or floor of the oven (Wilson, 1903, p. 180).

The narrator of *The Green Mist* described the pouring of wine on the door sill at cock crow to bring good luck to the New Year (p. 260). The sprinkling of wine on the door sill has not been recorded in Lincolnshire, but was noted by Campbell in Scotland where such a practice was carried out to protect the house (Black, 2008, p. 537).

### **3.4.7 Norse Influences**

The Norse evidence for the Great Worm, mentioned above, and the use of the term Yule for the midwinter festival, that is known elsewhere as Christmas, are just two of a

---

1908, p. 138, p. 40; Thompson, 1995, p. 139; Addy, 1895, p. 74). Briggs listed the story of a wiseman using a bible and a key to find a thief – MOTIF; H.251.3.2 [Thief detected by Psalter (Bible) and key] (1969d, p. 682).

<sup>119</sup> Many people would also purchase and consult almanacs such as ‘Old Moore’s’ in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to gain foreknowledge of the weather and moon phases in order to gauge the best time for planting crops and gathering herbs (Davies, 1999, pp. 155-156; Cashford, 2003, p. 229).

number of pieces of evidence for the influence of the Norse traditions in North Lincolnshire. Offerings to water was found by Davidson in the form of rituals at lakes and waterfalls, within Germanic and Scandinavian tradition (1989, p. 26). She also noted the “seeking of luck was linked closely with the rites which marked the revolution of the seasons, the gathering of the harvest, and the reopening of campaigns in spring”(1989, p. 134). These rites would be carried out by individuals, families and the community. Regarding the remnants of traditions in folk-tales, she saw traces of the “the traditions of land-spirits from a world outside time” where such spirits would make secret visits to farms, and could bring prosperity or play tricks on the people.

Widdowson noted the Germanic roots of the terms Bogles and Boggards and their relationship to the Bogeyman (1971, p. 111) and Davidson also found a man who “trusted in a spirit dwelling in a great stone near his house...” a belief also noted by Spence (1946, p. 185), and of food being left out on Christmas Eve (Davidson, 1989, p. 114).

Heanley, who had a keen interest in the Vikings, knew of an old wise woman at Saltfleetby who refused quinine preferring a better charm of nailing three horseshoes to the foot board of her old four poster bed with the tips pointing upwards. She would lay a hammer crosswise above the horseshoes and, holding a mallet in her left hand, she would hit the shoes three times whilst reciting:

“Feyther, Son and Holy Ghoast. Naale the devil to this poast, thrice I smites with Holy Crok, with this mell Oi throice du knock. One for God an' one for Wod an' one for Lok”(Heanley, 1891b, p. 134).<sup>120</sup>

Peacock found a similar reference to such a cure being used as a cure for delirium tremens in the North of Lincolnshire

“Mrs...a native of the Isle of Axholme remarked...of her employer:...he might drink just as hard as he duz noo, an' aail nowt, if he naail'd three hoss shoes to his bedhead, then he'd never be trubled wi' talkin' ower an' see'in' thing” (Peacock, 1891b, p. 184).<sup>121</sup>

---

<sup>120</sup> Davidson was later to repeatedly discredit the interpretation of the rhyme collected by Heanley (1963, p. 528, p. 536; 1970, p. 181), though she failed to make mention of Peacock's evidence.

<sup>121</sup> Olsan has discussed the link blending of Christian and Germanic elements in ancient charms (1999, p. 403 n.5).

Type of Belief	<i>Tiddy Mun</i>	<i>The Dead Moon</i>	<i>Pottle o' Brains</i>	<i>The Green Mist</i>	<i>Yallery Brown</i>	<i>The Dead Hand</i>	<i>The Strangers' Share</i>	<i>Flying Childer</i>	<i>Fred th' Fool</i>	<i>Sam'l's Ghost</i>
Belief in a water spirits	x									
Fear of the water and the Carrs at night		x				x				
Significance of Birds and Flowers	x			x						
Belief in earth spirits & fairies		x		x	x		x			
Pacifying spirits and protecting the house	x			x			x			
Helping the crops to grow				x						
Folklore of Death								x		x
Belief in charms for protection	x					x				
Significance of the Moon	x									
Witches and wise-woman	x	x	x				x	x		
Divination using brewpot, mirror & book		x								
Protection of the house		x		x						
Yule customs				x						

Table 4: Analysis of belief compared to the Legends

Table 4: above shows the randomness and parallels of the belief within the *Legends*. *Tiddy Mun* has more beliefs followed jointly by *The Green Mist* and *The Dead Moon*. The most common belief found in the stories was that of witches and wise-women followed by earth spirits and fairies.

### 3.5 ANALYSIS OF THE DIALECT WITHIN THE LEGENDS

“...Even their speech sounds strange to a modern English ear, for it is almost pure Saxon, and keeps many of the original inflexions which we have lost. Certainly it bears signs of the many races that have dwelt in Lincolnshire, and surely no county in England has known more varied masters; there are many Norse and Danish words, and some Roman and Norman names; but in the common speech, French and Latin derivatives are conspicuous by their absence” (Balfour, 1891, pp. 147-148).

“...there is no...distinction to be observed between the districts North and South of the Humber. The provincialisms of North Lincolnshire and South Yorkshire are essentially the same; and these are the very parts in which the Danes first and most generally made themselves felt...” (Streatfeild, 1884, p. 27)

“These are told in a dialect such as Mr. Edward Peacock has made a study of for

the Dialect Society, but which differs a good deal from Tennyson's dialect in the Northern Farmer and we can well believe that they have been taken down faithfully" (*The Academy* Vol. 39, No.999, p. 610).

### 3.5.1 English Dialect Society

In the late 1880s, linguistics as a discipline was still in its infancy, and known as philology.<sup>122</sup> The English Dialect Society was formed in 1873 by Walter W Skeat, Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Cambridge, with the aim of collecting data for an *English Dialect Dictionary* which was to include "all dialect words still in use, or known to have been in use during the last two hundred years." In 1886, Skeat established a fund to gather subscriptions and donations for the publication, which was to be edited by Yorkshire born philologist, Joseph Wright of Oxford University. Wright appealed widely for material to include in the publication, and over 600 people came forward to help collect, read and check the information. The *Dictionary* was finally published in 6 volumes between 1898 and 1905 and the Society dissolved in 1896, after it had achieved its main aim, and had published 80 other grammars and glossaries.<sup>123</sup>

Edward Peacock was an active member of the English Dialect Society, from its formation, and soon began to gather a collection for Lincolnshire (Elder, 1997, p. 7). His *Glossary of Words used in the Wapentakes of Manley and Corringham, Lincolnshire* was published by the Society in 1877. His daughter Mabel was also heavily involved in collecting and listing Lincolnshire words for inclusion in the *Glossary* and the *English Dialect Dictionary*. From her research, came the first of her North Lincolnshire Dialect books: *Tales and Rhymes in the Lindsey Folk-Speech* (1886),<sup>124</sup> and she soon became "formally and publicly acknowledged as an authority" on the subject (Elder, 1997, p. 10).

### 3.5.2 Folklore Collectors and Dialect

Within the world of the story collectors a move was made to record the dialect as well as the plot, and Jacob Grimm stressed the need to take down the material "without embellishment or addition, from the mouth of the teller, and whenever possible in his own words" (Michaelis-Jena, 1971, p. 269; Preston, 1982, p. 308). Hartland of the

---

<sup>122</sup> The term 'linguistics' was adopted in the twentieth century.

<sup>123</sup> McArthur, 1998 Online resource.

<sup>124</sup> This book was later acknowledged as being co-written by Mabel and her brother Max (Elder, 1997, p. 11). An example of the dialect text can be found in Appendix 14.

Folklore Society, gave the following advice:

There is... one caution – namely, to be assured that the documents are gathered direct from the lips of the illiterate storyteller, and set down with accuracy and good faith. Every turn of phrase, awkward or coarse...must be unrelentingly reported; and every grotesquery, each strange word, or incomprehensible or silly incident, must be given without flinching. Any attempt to soften down inconsistencies, vulgarities or stupidities, detracts from the value of the text, and may hide or destroy something from which the student may be able to make a discovery of importance to science (Hartland, 1891, p. 21).

As regards the writing up of the stories for publication, Wilhelm Grimm, after the 1819 edition of their folktales, replaced indirect speech with dialogue (Michaelis-Jena, 1971, p. 267). He had considered rendering all of the stories that he and his brother had collected into the original dialect, but decided that for the ease of communication, they should be printed in High German (Kamenetsky, 1992, p. 165). This was similar to the decision by Jacobs to edit out much of Balfour's dialect, and it appears that even the Peacocks modified the language within their stories (see Appendix 14).

### **3.5.3 The Problems of Committing Dialect to the Page**

Many researchers have found it challenging to render spoken vernacular language in written form and “many of the difficulties stem from the fact that the people...tend to be speakers of non-standard vernacular dialects that contrast especially markedly with the academic standard English of the scholars’ published reports” (Bauman, 1986, p. ix; Toelken 1979, p. 304). As a consequence, only distinctly unique words get recorded phonetically. Tedlock noted that the spoken narrative is full of stops, starts and changes in volume which are difficult to record in writing (1983, pp. 7-10). Bringhurst expanded on this by stating that “there is no accurate way to portray, in any language, sounds that language disallows” (1999, p. 18).

As has been shown earlier in this thesis, Balfour seems to have wished to represent both the local pronunciation and lexis in great detail using an apparently self-created, semi-phonetic system that included extensive use of the apostrophe. This must have placed considerable demands upon her; however, she did admit to removing some of the dialect words which the readers might not understand “without an intimate knowledge of the dialect”<sup>125</sup> (p. 149).

At the time when Balfour was collecting stories, there was a lack of regard for the

---

<sup>125</sup> Hearing the form instead of meaning also takes “excruciating effort” (Preston, 1982, p. 321).

setting up of stereotypes and for the consideration of whether the narratives would reflect negatively on the informants (Bauman, 1986, p. ix) Preston noted that frequent use of re-spellings was more popular with folklorists “when offering the speech of the ‘different’”<sup>126</sup> and such amendments to the dialect are not about increasing understanding of the folklore but are more about accentuating such ‘difference’ (1982, p. 320, p. 311).

Balfour described the speech of her informants as “vulgar” (p. 257), and it is apparent that she was trying to provide evidence of such ‘difference.’ Within the introductions to the *Legends* she described the people by using such phrases as “averse to change,” “simple,” “childlike” (p. 148) alongside comments on their “rusticity,” “savagery,” and “ignorance” (p. 257). Her narratives contain many of the features noted by Preston, particularly re-spellings in the form of omitting letters, including initial, medial and final apostrophes for these syllable and single letter omissions, and adding extra letters (1982, p. 235).

The *Legends* also contain frequent inconsistencies in the spelling of regularly used dialect words<sup>127</sup> such as *towanst*, *coomed*, *loike* and *cowld* as well as non-dialect words such as *pore* (poor) and *techin* (touching). It could have been these re-spellings that prompted Rudkin to describe the dialect as ‘shocking’ (1954, p. 396). Close analysis of *Tiddy Mun* revealed a number of re-spellings or misspellings (Appendix 16) of which some of the results are recorded in Table 5 below:

---

<sup>126</sup> This difference could be due to “lower social status, lack of education, illiteracy...or rusticity” (Preston, 1982, p. 322).

<sup>127</sup> According to Rivett, there were even such errors in Tennyson's work, as it was written up a number of years after he had left the area.

<b>Balfour text</b>	<b>More common dialect spelling</b>	<b>Balfour text</b>	<b>More common dialect spelling</b>	<b>Balfour text</b>	<b>More common dialect spelling</b>
gey	gain	nat'rally	natly	wi'outen	wivoot
whan	when	sels	sens	soop	sup
weel	well	ca'it	call it	th'ud	there'd
doun	down	rinnin	running	natheless	nevertheless
arken	hark	whan	when	creepit	crept
fust	first	together	together	doun	down
hast	Have you	than	then	anes	ones
anither	anuther	kennt	kenned	pownies	poanies
himself	hissen	smoked	smooked	fowers	fours
joompin'	jumping	dun	durst	oneasy	uneasy
stannin'	standing	thea	they	woful	woeful

*Table 5: A selection of Balfour's errors in spelling or recording*

### **3.5.4 Frequency of Norse words within the *Legends***

Balfour may have been aware of the work of Streatfeild, who noted that “No county map bears clearer traces of Norse occupation than that of Lincolnshire” (1884, p. 7). She showed an awareness of word origins noting the frequency of not just many Anglo-Saxon words but also Norse and Danish influences, alongside a lack of French or Latin derivatives (p. 147), and the attempt to prove this may also have added to her decision to record the *Legends* in the dialect that would reinforce their regional flavour (Widdowson, 1978, p. 39).

Phythian-Adams also noted that there was much evidence of Danish influences on the north of Lincolnshire including the legends of Haveloc the Dane and Grim.<sup>128</sup> He also

<sup>128</sup> Grim was the protector of Haveloc the heir to the dead king of Denmark, and after whom Grimsby was named. Research on Scandinavian personal-names in the twelfth century show that north

pointed out that at one time Haveloc was a nationally important piece of history, but that it had shrunk to being a tale that is almost wholly confined to the area around Grimsby (1999, pp. 125-126). Leahy explored the place name and archaeological evidence to show the Scandinavian influence throughout Lincolnshire as well as the significance of the Kingdom of Lindsey in ancient times (2010). The dialect still retains much evidence of this influence, a stream is not a brook but is a 'beck' from the Danish 'bekkr'. An island is a 'holme' from the Danish 'holmr'. There are 'carr', 'kjarr' lands, and roads or streets may be 'gate', 'gata'..."(2010, p. 165). On a similar note the Aegir tide that is a feature of the River Trent is named after the Norse god of the sea (Streatfeild, 1884, p. 66). Table 6 shows the spread of some of these Norse words within the *Legends*.

Alongside the Norse influence, Streatfeild observed that the vocabularies of the south of Scotland and northern Lincolnshire, "correspond with one another in a way that would attract the notice of the least observant" (1884, p. 260). This may have been influenced by the thriving herring fishing industry which saw trawlers annually following the migrating shoals around the east coast from the Scottish ports as far as Lowestoft (Widdowson, 1978, p. 49; Gray & Moffat, 1985, p. 30). This, coupled with the fact that Balfour was from Edinburgh, means that it would not be surprising to find apparently Scottish words within the *Legends*. Such words which include *happed* (wrapped), *dwined* (faded) and *teem* (empty, pour) (Campion, 1976, p. 9) are listed within the glossary. Alongside these Balfour used Scottish words and spellings, which are not found in the county, namely *syne* (since), *lang* (long), *ither* (other), *wee* (little) and *keek* (look).<sup>129</sup>

---

Lincolnshire and Yorkshire contained considerably more than anywhere else. (Phythian-Adams, 1999, p. 124 quoting from Clark, 1992, p. 555).

<sup>129</sup> *Dictionary of the Scots Language*. (Online).



Word	Tiddy Mun	The Dead Moon	Pottle o' Brains	The Green Mist	Yallery Brown	The Dead Hand	The Strangers' Share	Flying Childer	Fred th' Fool	Sam'l's Ghost	Total
Bairn	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
brustin/brussen	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
brunt	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	3
clemmed	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	2
flit/flitted	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	3
gain/gainhand	1	-	1	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	6
garth	5	1	-	-	1	1	2	-	2	-	12
glower/gloar	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
ken	8	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
kirk	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	3
main	1	-	-	1	-	-	3	1	2	-	8
mun	-	-	-	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	4
reetly/reightly	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	1	-	5
skirl	2	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	5
stope/stoup	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
stot	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
teem	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	4
unhapped/unhep pen	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2
yule	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>83</b>

Table 6: Frequency of a selection of Norse words within the *Legends*

### 3.5.5 Summary of the word analysis

- A glossary was compiled to provide definitions of words included within the *Legends* using various Lincolnshire Glossaries, as mentioned above (Appendix 2)

The dialect used within the *Legends* has been subjected to a number of different investigations:

- Ant-Conc was used to ascertain the 20 most frequently used tokens within each text (the results form Appendix 18)

- *Tiddy Mun* was closely analysed (Appendix 16) to highlight the errors and leave the words that can be traced to Lincolnshire or Yorkshire (in Appendix 2)
- The use of the word tokens 'thee' and 'tha' were explored (Appendix 17)
- Frequency of a number of Norse words has been compared (in Table 6)
- The frequency of the use of some conjunctions are compared in Table 7 below. This may also show that the female tellers used more conjunctions/boundary markers and longer sentences (Bennett, 1989, p. 171)

The Glossary and the analysis of *Tiddy Mun* show that the tales are written in dialects that correspond with that spoken in the north of Lincolnshire or Yorkshire. There are also a number of words that seem to have come from Scotland which will be discussed below. The frequency of Norse words show a varied pattern with the elderly teller of *Tiddy Mun* using far more of such words.<sup>130</sup>

It is also apparent from this analysis that the results are random and consequently show that the *Legends* have been told by different tellers. It is also apparent that the woman and the girl used more conjunctions/boundary markers, as would be expected.

	<i>Tiddy Mun</i>	<i>The Dead Moon</i>	<i>Pottle o' Brains</i>	<i>The Green Mist</i>	<i>Yallery Brown</i>	<i>The Dead Hand</i>	<i>The Strangers' Share</i>	<i>Flying Childer</i>	<i>Fred th' Fool</i>	<i>Sam'l's Ghost</i>
<b>Type of analysis</b>										
Dialect words	10	9	4	5	8	7	6	2	1	3
conjunctions	10	9	7	4	6	8	2	5	3	1
Use of 'tha'	10	9	3	5	8	7	6	4	2	1
Norse words	10	4	2	6	6	8	9	2	7	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>8</b>

Table 7: Frequency of dialect and Norse words within the Legends

To summarise the findings by individual teller:

*Tiddy Mun*, told by an elderly woman, including many conjunctions/boundary markers, Norse and dialect words.

<sup>130</sup> The language used in *Tiddy Mun* can be compared to that noted by George Ewart Evans in Suffolk when he was talking to the old people in 1951 (James 2007).

*The Dead Moon*, told by a young girl with much less use of Norse words but with many dialect words and conjunctions/boundary markers.

*A Pottle o' Brains*, unknown teller used much less dialect and Norse words, and many fewer conjunctions/boundary markers.

*The Green Mist* told by a man with some dialect and Norse words and some conjunctions/boundary markers.

*Yallery Brown* told by a labourer with many dialect words and quite a few Norse words and conjunctions/boundary markers.

*The Dead Hand* told by a man with quite a few dialect words, Norse words and conjunctions/boundary markers.

*The Strangers' Share* told by a man with many Norse words, some dialect words and few conjunctions/boundary markers.

With regards to the last three tales, they contain considerably less dialect features. This can be seen as an indicator that these *Legends* were written up by Balfour some time after collection, when the sound of the dialect was less prominent in her memory.

### 3.5.6 Analysis of the last three tales

As noted earlier within this thesis, the directors of The Folklore Society were impressed with Balfour's efforts and compared the dialect to that collected by E. Peacock.<sup>131</sup> This gives some indication of the value placed upon the work by the Society and by Jacobs as editor of *Folk-Lore*, and the reasons why Balfour was asked to submit the last three tales, the existence of which she had hinted at within the Introduction to Part II of the *Legends*.

Balfour had left Lincolnshire by 1890 and the last three tales were transcribed into dialect some considerable time after the first of the tales. To carry out this task, Balfour must have presumed a knowledge of her informants speech (Preston, 1982, p. 321) though it is clear from the results that her skills in this area had deteriorated. These tales contain few dialect words, minimal conjunctions and only *Fred th' Fool* contains a noticeable quantity of Norse words. The recording is also inconsistent,<sup>132</sup> such that

<sup>131</sup> Section 1.5 and is quoted at the top of this section.

<sup>132</sup> It is also apparent from the parallels in the list of the most frequent words (Appendix 18) that they were composed by the same person.

within *Sam'l's Ghost*, *mun fot* is used at one point for “must find” and later *fun* is used for “find”.

Within the *Legends*, there are also some words or usages for which it has not yet been possible to trace the origin. These include *rampin'* - to describe a girl; *clapperdatch* which seems to indicate a commotion; *evens* (evening); *gowned* (dressed); *beardie* (beard); *sperrited* (spirited); *to* used in place of 'at'; *lispen* (listen); *awfulest*; *endlins* (though this could be endlong); the French word *changement*; *Ay faix*, though this could be linked to the Yiddish expression for shock, 'Oy Veh' and *anders*.

### **3.6 AN INVESTIGATION TO DISCOVER THE TELLERS OF SOME OF THE LEGENDS (AND TATTERCOATS)**

“I have gathered together a number of these stories – some of them were told me by devout believers, mostly aged folk, who dated from the days of universal credulity; some were repeated as “my grandad used to tell” by younger people,”(Balfour, 1891, p. 148)

#### **3.6.1 Tiddy Mun**

Balfour states that *Tiddy Mun* was first heard “from an aged woman, a life-long dweller in these Cars, who in her young days herself observed the rite she describes, though she would not confess to it within the hearing of her grand-children, whose indifference and disbelief shocked her greatly...she is now dead...” (p. 149).

Assuming the accuracy of the statement that the woman had died by the time the stories were published, and that she lived in Redbourne, she could be one of three people whose burials are listed in the Parish records, and who were also on the 1881 census returns, namely Mary Birket, Ann Ingram and Mary Whelpton.

Mary Birket died at aged 82 and was buried in Redbourne in May 1891. It can safely be assumed that as the story of *Tiddy Mun* and the mention that the teller had died, appeared in Balfour's introduction in *Folk-Lore* in June 1891, this would be too late for the news to have reached Balfour and then the publishers in time.

Ann Ingram died in October 1889, at aged 84. She was born in the village and listed in the 1881 census as a pauper and a widow.<sup>133</sup> In 1861 her husband had been listed on the census as a local preacher and a tea merchant. By 1871 they were living in Kirton

---

<sup>133</sup> This research has also been mentioned in section 2.5.3.

where John was an agricultural labourer and Ann, a private schoolmistress. John died in 1877, by this time they had 3 adult daughters and a number of grandchildren, though these did not live locally. Given the fact that she was a schoolmistress, and married to a preacher, I believe that it would be unlikely that she would be carrying out 'pagan' rituals, or that she would be using such a strong dialect.<sup>134</sup> I consequently believe that the person referred to as the teller of *Tiddy Mun* was not Ann.

Mary Whelpton, who died at aged 81 in October 1889, was born in the village to a family who had lived locally for generations.<sup>135</sup> She, and her husband John, an agricultural labourer, had four children.<sup>136</sup> John died in 1887, but before his death, it can be assumed that the couple played an active role in caring for at least two of their grand-children as their grandson Francis Parrett (aged 7) was with them in their home in the Dairy House, close to the Hall, on the night of the census 1871. Similarly, their grand-daughter Harriet Parrot (aged 10) was with them in 1881, two years after Mary's daughter, and Harriet's mother, also called Harriet Parrott had died.<sup>137</sup> Mary, John and Harriet were living in the centre of the village by this time.

I would therefore suggest that the most likely teller, or person alleged to be the teller, was Mary Whelpton.

### 3.6.2 *The Dead Moon and Sam'l's Ghost*

The introduction to *The Dead Moon* explains how the story was “obtained from a young girl of nine, a cripple, who stated that she had heard it from her 'gran'” Later, within the introduction to part III of the *Legends* Balfour added that *Sam'l's Ghost* was told by the same child (p.403)<sup>138</sup> and that she was called ‘Fanny’(p.156).<sup>139</sup> Jacobs, when he abridged the story and removed the dialect for inclusion in his collection, noted

<sup>134</sup> See education section 2.4.1.

<sup>135</sup> Mary was one of 9 children of Robert Crawford (born 1776) and Jane Hunsley (born 1783). The Crawford family had been living locally or in the village for at least 4 generations. Mary was born in Redbourne, as were each of her siblings, many of whom remained in the village. Taylor confirmed that the surname Whelpton was also a common one within the village.

<sup>136</sup> Caroline b.1832; Anderson b.1833, d.1883; Harriot b.1837, d.1879; Stephen b.1840.

<sup>137</sup> In 1881 her granddaughter was living with her and her husband – Harriet Parrot age 10, a scholar born in Barton, Humber. In 1871 John and Mary are listed with their grandson Francis E Parrett a scholar age 7 born at Barton. Mary's daughter Harriet had married Joseph Parrott, a sawyer from Barton on Humber at Redbourne in November 1856. She had 9 children before she died in 1879. Sadly time did not permit me searching the school log book to see if the children also went to the local school.

<sup>138</sup> One of the Grimms informants was a ten year old girl called Anna who was a good storyteller and who loved to get people to tell her stories and who also wrote them down for the collection (Kametsky 1992, p.122).

<sup>139</sup> Fanny is normally an abbreviated form of Frances (University of Hull online resource).

that “The story was derived from a little girl named Bratton.”

A search of genealogical records for Fanny Bratton in Redbourne revealed only one potential match, namely Agnes Louisa Brattan, one of a large number of children born to James, an agricultural labourer and Eliza who lived at Stoneham in Redbourne.<sup>140</sup> She was born in the village in October 1879,<sup>141</sup> and so would have been the age stated by Balfour. It is not possible to ascertain if she was 'crippled' as this is not revealed by the census returns or in the school records.

Within the narrative of *Sam'l's Ghost* there is another clue to the location of the home of the teller and her family - “Theer’s a red wummin, as wa’alks i’ th’ spinney nigh wheer a dool...an’ theer wor a lad wi’ ne’er a he’ad on un ‘at ma mother seed...” (p. 415). Agnes Brattan did live close to a spinney, or small plantation, at Stoneham, to the east of Redbourne Hall.

### **3.6.3 Yallery Brown**

Jacobs in his notes, explained that *Yallery Brown* “was told to Mrs Balfour by a labourer;” however, Jacobs added the surname Tiver for his version. This is an extremely rare surname and searches of the census indicates that it is mostly confined to Somerset,<sup>142</sup>

From Balfour's narrative we learn that the teller was “nobbut a lad o’ sixteen or mebbe awteen years – an’ ma mither an’ foaks doolt down by tha pond yonner, at the far en’ o’ tha village”. He told the story in the first person and indeed it seemed to be based on the life of an agricultural labourer. This form of telling has been explored in Section 3.2.

Initial searches of the 1881 and 1891 census returns for the village or Redbourne, revealed 17 possible 'Tom's' <sup>143</sup> of which some were immediately ruled out for being too young or having lived in the village for only a short amount of time.

<sup>140</sup> On the 1881 census, James and Eliza lived with Susannah, age 4, Arthur, age 3 and Agnes at Stoneham. By 1891 the family had expanded such that there were 6 children in the household, which was now listed as being in the village.

<sup>141</sup> She was the 3<sup>rd</sup> children of James and Eliza (nee Green) and was christened in Redbourne Church in 1879. Her fathers family had come from the Grimsby area and her mother from Market Rasen and Kelsey, indicating a lineage based in the northern part of Lincolnshire.

<sup>142</sup> A search on Ancestry reveals the rarity of the surname of Tiver. It was found in Somerset in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. A search for the name Thomas in the nineteenth century found only two entries – one of a child who was born and died in Middlesex, and the other of someone living in Somerset who was born in Cheshire. Aside from Somerset, there was just one isolated example in Middlesex of a baby named Tom Tiver who lived from 1849-1853.

<sup>143</sup> See Appendix 3.

If we take the contents of this *Legend* literally, the most likely fit would be Thomas Laming, who was born in 1845 in Redbourne<sup>144</sup> and was living in the village in 1881. Analysis of other records show that in 1861 he was living in, as a carter, with a farmer of 189 acres, along with five other servants, in Messingham<sup>145</sup> (5.5km away). Ten years later, he was employed as a waggoner, on Staniwells Farm, Hibaldstow, a farm which employed 20 labourers, 1 woman and 2 boys. The 616 acre farm was situated the other side of the Ramper from the village, a route not dissimilar to the one from Redbourne to High Farm.

By 1881 Thomas Laming was back in Redbourne, lodging in the village, possibly with members of his extended family. Ten years later, at age 46, Thomas was still single and lodging with other members of his family in Redbourne. By this time he was employed as an agricultural labourer.

However, another potential candidate could be Thomas Whelpton who, whilst he was born in 1830 in Glentworth, Lincolnshire, he was living from at least age 10 in the village of Redbourne with his parents. His father was a shepherd and Thomas, who started out as an agricultural labourer had begun to follow his fathers career by 1881. He remained unmarried and continued, after his parents death, to live with his sister Fanny who was 26 years younger than him. It will be noticed however, that whilst he was an agricultural labourer, he did not have the experience of living in on a farm and working with horses as described in the tale.

### **3.6.4 Tattercoats**

According to the printed notes of Jacobs, the tale of *Tattercoats* was “told to Mrs. Balfour by a little girl named Sally Brown, when she lived in the Cars in Lincolnshire. Sally had got it from her mother, who worked for Mrs. Balfour. It was originally told in dialect, which Mrs. Balfour has omitted”.

A search of family history records reveals two sisters, Annie Elizabeth (born 1877) and Sarah<sup>146</sup> Allina Brown (born 1878). Their father was a farm servant and their mother a house servant. Their maternal grandparents were shepherds. Annie was

---

<sup>144</sup> His father was born in North Kelsey (7km away) and his mother from Laughton (12km). In 1851 young Thomas, age 6 was living in the village with his 54 year old, agricultural labourer, father and 48 year old mother, his 13 year old brother and 9 year old sister.

<sup>145</sup> Messingham is 5.7km (3.5miles) from Owston Ferry, the place where the little man was reported having been seen at Jenny Hurn.

<sup>146</sup> Sally is commonly known as being an abbreviated form of Sarah.

staying with her grandparents<sup>147</sup> at Pyewipe, Redbourne on census night in 1881 whilst Sarah was at home in Hayes, Redbourne. They both attended Redbourne school.<sup>148</sup> I believe that the most likely teller of the story was Sarah.

### **3.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS**

Within this chapter I have investigated the collecting of the *Legends*, explored the narrative and introductory content and carried out an examination of genealogical sources to seek for the tellers of some of the stories.

In section 3.2, I briefly outlined, and defined the history of storytelling in the nineteenth century and examined the methods that were likely to have been used by Balfour to gain informants, which may have included the help of her husband, and also looked at the likely venue for most of the collecting, which was most likely to have been her own home.<sup>149</sup> I have then shown that Balfour must have been able to recall, and tell a tale herself, or had a persuasive manner that enabled her to coax informants into sharing their belief stories. I have also noted evidence that a number of her informants believed the tales whereas others showed disbelief.

Balfour's methods of recording and transcribing the *Legends* were also explored along with her attitude to her informants, her desire to stimulate debate and her emphasis on recording the tales accurately in a 'scientific' way. These are indicative of Balfour's desire to assist the Folklore Society in its investigations into the primitive.

Within section 3.3, I have shown that the structure of the *Legends* resemble oral stories, particularly as they include many performance strategies. I have also located many of the personal and place names from the tales, within Redbourne or the surrounding district. Alongside this, the rhymes and riddles within the *Legends* have been shown to be significant in placing the tales within the oral tradition, particularly as part of the cante-fable genre. The inclusion of rhymes or rhyming couplets within the tales collected by Peacock also indicate that this feature was found within the locality.

Regarding the motifs from Thompson's Index, many of these can be found within the *Legends* and these have been noted, as have the Tale-Types. Parallels to a number of the stories, or parts of the stories have been located, mostly within story collections that are

---

<sup>147</sup> The maternal grandparents were John and Ann Kirman, both of which were shepherds.

<sup>148</sup> The log book records that the girls started at the school just 13 days after Agnes L Bratten.

<sup>149</sup> As well as the inn where she collected *The Flyin' Childer*.



independent of the academic indexes. However, regarding the latter, more investigation could be carried out, particularly on the Irish and Norse collections of stories and motifs.

In 3.4, I showed that the majority of the folkloric references within the *Legends* can be traced to actual beliefs, the majority of which can be found within Lincolnshire. A number can also be paralleled within the Norse traditions. Alongside this, there are a few folkloric references that have not been located elsewhere, namely the lighting of fires on strangers' stones and smearing them with blood<sup>150</sup> (p. 279); black snags that turned into snakes (p. 150)<sup>151</sup> and carrying the hair of a dead man and clippings from a dead woman's nails for luck (p. 272).<sup>152</sup> There also does not appear to be evidence for 'Witches' Pinks, as mentioned in *Tiddy Mun* though many plants were associated with witches, with names indicating such (Wright, 1913, p. 198, Porter, 1958, p. 120). These few anomalies could be either exaggerations by the storytellers or folk beliefs that were not recorded, but of course, neither of these theories can be proven.

Within section 3.5 I have theorised that Balfour made a serious attempt to collect the stories faithfully and probably wrote them out in dialect form to demonstrate the Anglo-Saxon, Norse and "Danish" influences that would sit alongside the pagan content. However, she allowed her prejudices to influence the way she recorded the dialect, respelt numerous words and replaced numerous letters with apostrophes, making them hard to read. However, analysis of the *Legends*, does demonstrate not just Lincolnshire, but also Norse, Scottish and Yorkshire influences within the varied dialects of the tales, and also shows the diversity in the styles of the tellers. Sadly, as we only have the notes from the last three tales, alongside the dialect texts written much later, we cannot view the whole situation.

There are also a number of words, whose origins cannot be verified within the geographical areas surveyed. Considering each of these factors, though we can learn a great deal from the *Legends* and the introductions we will never know the "exact character of the material."<sup>153</sup> However, it does seem that if Balfour had written the stories herself, as claimed by Harte, she must have put in an enormous amount of effort,

---

<sup>150</sup> Though smearing blood on the door-sills is found.

<sup>151</sup> This could have biblical influences as Exodus 7:10 includes a rod being turned into a serpent (Thompson, 1955-8, p. 43).

<sup>152</sup> There was widespread belief in the power of a dead man's hand including within Lincolnshire (Roud, 2003, p. 137).

<sup>153</sup> From Balfour's introduction to Part III (p.401).

demonstrating abilities that she seemed not to have continued to use.

From the research outlined in 3.6, it can be concluded that with regards to those *Legends* that include clues to the tellers identities, these people can be found within the village of Redbourne. The teller of *Tiddy Mun* is likely to have been Mary Whelpton, who was born in the village with a history of generations of her family also living locally, and with close contact with her grand-children. The narrator of *The Dead Moon* and *Sam's Ghost* appears to have been Agnes Brattan, a young girl who attended the village school at the same time as the Brown sisters, one of whom (Sarah Allina) was the probable teller of the story *Tattercoats* which, though not included within the collection, was in Jacobs. All three were local girls from Carrs families. Thomas Laming, an agricultural labourer, who had experience of 'living in' as an employee on at least two farms, was the probable teller of the *Yallery Brown* story. He had been born in the village and also lived in it for much of his life. However, he was unmarried at the time of the story being told, which contradicts some of the narrative, though this would not have made such a good story.

## 4 THE RECEPTION OF THE LEGENDS SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF THE DICTIONARY OF BRITISH FOLK-TALES

### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

Within this chapter I will first seek to provide a brief history of the Storytelling Revival in England (4.2.1). I will then examine some of the large number of adaptations, modifications or abridgements of the *Legends*, that have been produced since the publication of *The Dictionary of British Folk-Tales*.<sup>1</sup> I will particularly focus upon the uses of the tales by individuals and organisations within the county of Lincolnshire and the Cambridgeshire Fens, as this will give some insight into their thoughts and opinions on the value of the *Legends* to the understanding the landscape, culture and history of the drained flatlands. This analysis will begin by looking at the inclusion of the *Legends* within a selection of published story collections (4.2.2). This will be followed by an examination of some of the interpretations of the stories in audio (4.2.3) and video form (4.2.4). Finally I will outline a few of the examples of the *Legends* being used in dramatic performances, musical compositions and other media (4.2.5-4.2.7).

The sources for this section include Alan Garner (1969 & 2011), Kevin Crossley-Holland (1982-1997), Adrian Gray (1990), Polly Howat (1994), Neil Philip (1992), Mick Gowar (2000-2011), Hugh Lupton (1989), Mike Rouse & John Crowe (2008) plus the *Carrlands*, *Fenland Stories* and Fenland Discovery Centre projects and performance artists Bubbling Vagabonds, Beka Haigh and Rosie Eade, alongside other projects.

The next section (4.3) will consider the views of modern folklorists, storytellers and others to the *Legends*. Commencing with the critics of the authenticity of the *Legends* (4.3.1), namely folklorists Neil Philip (1992) and Jeremy Harte (2005) and independent critic Michael Behrend followed by the views of those who chose to be impartial such as academics Donald Haase (2008), Carmen Blacker & Hilda Ellis Davidson (2000) (4.3.2) and those who are of the opinion that the *Legends* are genuinely from the oral tradition of north Lincolnshire (4.3.3), namely landscape archaeologist Stephen Rippon (2009); folklorist Ruairidh Grieg; authors Kevin Crossley-Holland and Diane Purkiss

---

<sup>1</sup> After the publication of Briggs (1969). A list of the adaptations of the *Legends* within published story collections forms Appendix 7. An extensive list of the adaptations of the *Legends* has been posted on my website <http://www.tellinghistory.co.uk/content/stories-0>

(2000); storytellers Polly Howat, Hugh Lupton, Tim Davies and Helen Frances<sup>2</sup>. Much of the latter evidence has not come from published sources but is from interviews and personal correspondence. This will be followed by an examination of a similar case (4.3.4), namely the nineteenth century, Sicilian collector Laura Gonzenbach (Zipes 2004), and acknowledgment of the recent find of some entirely new German fairytales (4.3.5) (Messerer 2012).

## **4.2 ADAPTATIONS OF THE LEGENDS IN THE LAST FOUR DECADES**

“Storytelling and folktales may change, but they do not go away. They thrive in the non-literate societies of the world and survive even in the multimedia environment of the modern world” (Ben-Amos, 1992, p.117).

### **4.2.1 A Short History of the Storytelling Revival in England.**

In the 1960s, the poet laureate, John Masefield, started a Guild of Storytellers with the aim of starting a storytelling 'revival' (Heywood 1998, p. 9). He was unsuccessful in his attempt, though at this time storytelling was well-established in schools and libraries. However, grass roots interest in storytelling was increasing, particularly in London. Within a decade of the publication of the *Dictionary of British Folk-Tales* came “a remarkable upsurge of interest in oral storytelling, and the emergence of new (or the re-emergence of old) types of storytelling performance” observed Heywood (1998, p. 5) In England and Wales, Heywood found a number of loosely coherent movements, “in the arts, education, and culture at all levels...wherein the ever present but resurgent appetite for the many forms of spoken story can be focused, fed and stimulated” (Heywood, 1998, p.6).

By 1981 there were perhaps, about a dozen full or part-time storytellers in England and Wales (Haggarty 2003, p. 78). This figure increased ten-fold over the next decade, and in 2004 it was estimated that there were 420 professional/semi-professional storytellers in the UK.<sup>3</sup> The latest list by the Society for Storytelling also includes 60 storytelling groups around the country, each providing venues for performances by both professionals and amateurs.

---

<sup>2</sup> Please also note that some of the views of the compilers of published collections have already been considered within the previous section.

<sup>3</sup> Survey conducted by the Mouth network of storytellers, noted in Haggarty 2005, p. 4 updated version of *Seek out the Voice of the Critic*. Online resource.

In 1995, Ben Haggarty identified two storytelling traditions - The Hearthside and the Professional. The former being “the telling of traditional tales within a community for entertainment and instruction”<sup>4</sup> with no payment involved, and the latter linked to the gaining of an income through entertaining private patrons or paying audiences. Haggarty saw the two co-existing in many cultures with the craft passed from generation to generation; however, he recognised that within Britain, tellers within the storytelling revival lacked this continuous tradition. It was his belief that they must seek to compensate for this.

Mike Wilson focussed on different aspects and recognised four groups of storytellers in existence today: traditional storytellers who perform professionally; those who have come from non-performance traditions (such as teachers, librarians, clergy etc.); those who have come from other performance disciplines (mainly actors, but also, occasionally, musicians) and lastly, hobby storytellers (amateurs with enthusiasm, who may also perform in a professional context on occasions) (2006, p. 2).

Wilson also identified some key indicators of storytelling:

- It is centred around a solo performer or group of solo performers.
- Storytellers usually work from a repertoire, in the same way that a singer or musician may.
- Storytelling is usually low-tech in terms of light, sound, set, props and costume.
- Storytellers rarely work with a director or choreographer, but they do often choreograph themselves or prepare carefully for an event as actors do.
- The central performance dynamic is usually the vocal. (2006, p. 3)

With regards to the people who attend storytelling events today, Heywood's research found that they did not go out of a sense of nostalgia to hear traditional tales,<sup>5</sup> but rather to enjoy an experience that is not dependent on technology. Storytelling, he discovered

---

<sup>4</sup> This form of storytelling included “storytelling between generations within a family” and “storytelling as a public house pastime” Haggarty described the hearthside repertoires as including “nursery material, fables, jokes, folk tales, local legends, wonder tales and smatterings of epic and religious mythology” and noted that these tales were available to everyone and told “competently by many and really expertly by and acknowledged few” (1995, p. 6).

<sup>5</sup> Haggarty (2005, p. 17) noted that the major part of 90% of professional storytellers' repertoire consists of traditional tales.

was see as “in contrast, even opposition, to the modern world, and could restore a lost authenticity to it” (2004, p. 55). One of Heywood's informants explained:

“You only need, other people, and, your own tongues and somewhere which is sufficiently warm and comfortable that you're not particularly conscious of it, to make a completely fulfilling evening.” (2004, p. 53).

#### 4.2.2 The *Legends* in Published Story Collections

One of the earliest inclusions of the *Legends* within a story collection was by the highly respected author and re-teller of folk-tales, **Alan Garner**.<sup>6</sup> He included some faithful adaptations of *Yallery Brown* and *The Green Mist*<sup>7</sup> within his *Book of Goblins* (1969) and described the former, as being “the most powerful of all English fairy tales” (1969, p. 42).

Garner has recently revived the *Book of Goblins*, with the addition of some new material, including *The Flying Childer*, under the title, *Collected Folk Tales* (2011). The introduction to this book describes how he has “tried to get back, through the written word, a sense of the spoken. These stories...are to be heard as well as seen” (2011, p. 7). He explained that the stories that were *Legends* had come from Lincolnshire “before the fenlands were drained”(2011, p. 54).

Between 1982 and 1997, **Kevin Crossley-Holland** closely adapted the *Legends*, with the exception of *Tom the Fool* and *The Flyin' Childer*, for his varied collections, the titles and contents of which can be found in Appendix 7. Crossley-Holland acknowledged help given to him by Jennifer Westwood and David Robinson with “usage and translation” (1992, p. 5) in his notes and though he credited his source as being Balfour,<sup>8</sup> and quoted from her introductory texts, it is noticeable from the inclusion of the words “from East Anglia and the Fen Country” in three of the titles, that these *Legends* had been relocated geographically, from the north of Lincolnshire to the more southerly Fens (Crossley-Holland, 1982, 1992, 1997).

Crossley-Holland, explained, within his notes, that in the case of *The Dead Moon*, and *Yallery Brown*, he had kept close to the original but had modified the “heavy Lincolnshire dialect” (1982, p. 97, 1997, p. 203) and that in *The Green Mist* he

<sup>6</sup> As with other sections in this thesis, I have typed the names of the authors of the collections in bold to make the information easy to access without using sub-titles.

<sup>7</sup> An adaptation of the tale of *The Green Mist* for a dance piece is described in Garner (1981) Labys 7: Alan Garner Symposium. Bran's Head Books. Sadly I have been unable to locate a copy of this.

<sup>8</sup> Though he described her as a “niece of Robert Louis Stevenson” (Crossley-Holland, 1997, p.203).

“introduced into the story...some of the folk customs alluded to in the...preamble [and]... converted some of the reported action into direct action, with the use of dialogue, and...attempted a description of *The Green Mist* itself (1982, p. 99). The note to *The Strangers' Share* states that “At the heart of this important tale, which preserves many Lincolnshire beliefs and customs, lies a simple green message about respecting and cherishing the land that gives us life”(1997, p. 208). With the story of *Samuel's Ghost* he started the story with “little Samuel” being burnt to death whilst sleeping in his cottage (1997, p. 141).

Countryside Books released *Tales of Old Lincolnshire* in 1990, by Grantham born, local historian, **Adrian Gray**. *The Green Mist*, *The Fool and his New Brain*, *The Imprisoned Moon* and *The Tiddy People* were each included within this publication. Gray acknowledged that the stories were from the Carrs and the valley of the River Ancholme; however, each of the *Legends* was rewritten in a more literary fashion with much of the dialogue and all of the dialect removed.

Two years later the same company published *Ghosts and Legends of Lincolnshire and the Fen Country* (1992) by Fenland storyteller and folklore collector **Polly Howat**. This publication included *Tiddy Mun*, *The Dead Moon*, *Yallery Brown* and *The Dead Hand*. She noted within the introduction, that the stories were from the same collection, and thanked the Folklore Society for giving permission to retell them. However, due to publishers requirements, the impression is given that the *Legends* were from different places within north Lincolnshire.<sup>9</sup>

Also in 1992, a collection titled *The Penguin Book of English Folk Tales* by writer and folklorist **Neil Philip**, was published which included the stories *The Flyin' Childer* and *The Green Mist* in dialect. Alongside both stories, and more particularly the former, Philip expressed his doubt about the tales. This is discussed in the next section of this thesis.

The *Yallery Brown* story was adapted by **Mick Gowar**, of Anglia Ruskin University, in 2000 and 2005 for school children in year 5, upper primary level. Gowar based his retelling on Crossley-Holland's version but changed the ending to make the story circular with Tom being dragged under the stone after he returned to 'thank' the creature. Gowar felt that this provided balance between the two worlds – the supernatural and the

---

<sup>9</sup> *The Dead Hand* is set in the Ancholme Valley, pp7-9, *Tiddy Mun* in North Lincolnshire pp 68-69, *The Dead Moon* in the Isle of Axeholme (sic) pp47-50, and *Yallery Brown*, in Lindsey, pp53-55.

everyday.

### 4.2.3 Audio Versions of the *Legends*

In 1989 professional storyteller **Hugh Lupton**, from Norfolk, toured the Fens of Cambridgeshire and South Lincolnshire, telling a selection of *Tales of the Fens* in village halls, libraries and churches. The performance, which included *Yallery Brown*, *Tiddy Mun*, *The Green Mist* and *The Dead Moon*, alongside tales from Barrett (1963, 1964), was later recorded and released on cassette tape. On the insert, Lupton stated that as he told the stories he

“found them changing. Snippets of information and local detail kept creeping into them, giving them flavour and colour...By the end of the tour some of the tales had strayed a long way from the sources...they felt as though they were entwined in the strange, flat, mist-ridden landscapes they describe, and...it became clear...that folk-tales are an art-form on which a whole community has worked.” (Lupton 1989)

Lupton recently informed me that the comment above referred to the Fenland stories such as *Tom Hickathrift* and the *Grey Goose Feather* and not the *Legends*.

Regarding the *Legends*, Lupton made only minor changes: he followed Jacobs and used the name Tom Tiver for the *Yallery Brown* victim; expanded the time from the drainage to the punishment by *Tiddy Mun*; called the girl in *The Green Mist*, Polly Kemp; and in *The Dead Moon*, named the wise-woman as Old Fan of the Fens.<sup>10</sup> He also expanded the time for the disappearance of the moon beyond the period to the new moon.

Five years after Lupton's performance, **Polly Howat** recorded a cassette tape of *Tales from the Misty Fen*. It included three of the *Legends*: *The Strangers' Share*, *The Green Mist* and *The Dead Hand*. Within the tale of *The Strangers' Share*, Howat acknowledged the *Tiddy Men* that lived beneath the Fen, added the name Ben Bowser from the Isle of Axholme as the informant and named Nan Hatton and Hetty Briggs as the wise women “down by two mile cross”. She also had the people gathering on Hellgate Fen. *The Green Mist* was a faithful recording as was *The Dead Hand*, though set in the Fenland, and with the name of the main character changed to Peterson. Howat acknowledged her sources including the *Tales from the Lincolnshire Cars*, collected by

---

<sup>10</sup> Lupton admitted that Polly Kemp sounded East Anglian (source as above). Old Fan of the Fens was a Witch from Louth, Lincolnshire as noted by Marlowe (1926, pp. 199-212).



Mrs Mary (sic) Balfour.<sup>11</sup>

The **Carrlands** Project, which took place between 2006 and 2007 was conceived by **Mike Pearson** of Aberystwyth University.<sup>12</sup> Building on the work outlined in his book *In Comes I: Performance, Memory and Landscape*, in which he challenged disciplinary boundaries and combined archaeology, folklore, geomorphology, local and family history, the project explored the landscape of his childhood in North Lincolnshire<sup>13</sup> and also included quotes from Balfour's introduction to the *Legends*.

Pearson's project was designed to “aid public appreciation, understanding and enjoyment of the landscape through active participation and engagement.” With the help of composer John Hardy, he put together three original sound compositions, for the valley of the River Ancholme. These audio works were inspired by, and set at three locations in rural North Lincolnshire; Snitterby Carrs, Hibaldstow Carrs and Horkstow Carrs. Pearson hoped that people would access the files at home, or download them and take them to the sites where they, as listeners could participate in a “new form of site-specific performance” which will draw attention to and illuminate “the historically and culturally diverse ways in which a place is made, used and reused, and the complexities involved in interpreting landscape.” On the Carrlands file, Snitterby 1, Pearson evocatively related the story of *Tiddy Mun*, and within it, wove additional facts based on his extensive research and inherited understanding of the history of the area.

In 2008 Fenland Historian, **Mike Rouse** and Ely Folk Singer **John Crowe** collaborated on a recording of a retelling of Crossley-Holland's *Long Tom and the Dead Hand* on a CD *Fenland Songs and Stories*. This is a very entertaining version, which is much lighter than the original, not just by being told with a soft Fen accent and set within that landscape, but also because it doesn't have Tom's mother out looking for him or his returning home white haired, mute and deeply disturbed. The tale was influenced by Barrett's tale of *Witches at Halloween* and has the story set at this time<sup>14</sup> (Barrett 1964, pp. 133-136).

---

<sup>11</sup> The names were fictitious and were included to enhance the stories. (Howat 2012).

<sup>12</sup> <http://www.landscape.ac.uk/landscape/research/smallergrants/carrlands.aspx>.

<sup>13</sup> Pearson had also explored this subject within his guided tour/performance *Bubbling Tom* (2000).

<sup>14</sup> Rouse has also told the story as part of The Field Theatre Group multi-media production *Land lines* (April 2012).

#### 4.2.4 Video Versions of the *Legends*

**Mick Gowar**, the writer of the *Yallery Brown* school reading books, was also the instigator of a video project, using his adaptation of Crossley-Holland's version of the *Legend*, as the inspiration for work with schools. The story was commissioned as a piece of musical theatre in Cambridge in 1995 and recently two short films were made of the story as part of a joint project between Bottisham School, Cambridgeshire, the Cambridge School of Art and Anglia Ruskin University. B.A. Illustration students helped the school pupils to create their own digital versions of folk-tales to contribute to the new European Storytelling Archive based at the University.

The Gowar version of *Yallery Brown* also evolved into a story known as *The Wishingstone Curse* and was the subject of a project with Year 11 & 12 students from Ely Community College, Cambridgeshire in creative workshops with D Fie Foe media and education group. The script of the film closely followed Gowar's tale but also had the other employees, on the farm where Tom worked, accuse him of being a witch and allege that it was witchcraft that made everything go wrong. The story ended, as in Gowar's book, with Tom being put under the stone.<sup>15</sup>

**Stuart Hall** of Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service working with The Greater Fens Museum Partnership<sup>16</sup> recently led a project entitled *Fenland Stories* in which Fenland community groups in Cambridgeshire, Norfolk and Lincolnshire worked with their local museum and a film-maker to produce short films based on a selection of local stories. These stories included some of the *Legends*. The films, shown on a screen fixed into a model of a willow tree, then became the central feature of a travelling exhibition which visited 16 museums between 2010 and 2011.

The project worked with arts practitioners, “using high-quality animation, drama and the latest digital film making technology”<sup>17</sup> to enable Fenland people to “produce films retelling traditional tales and modern Fenland myths.”<sup>18</sup> The *Legends of Tiddymun*,

---

<sup>15</sup> The films, along with Gowar narrating his version of the tale is on his website. The project was supported by CoDE, the Cultures of the Digital Economy Research Institute of Anglia Ruskin University. Patrons – Kevin Crossley Holland and Jack Zipes.

<sup>16</sup> This project was on behalf of Renaissance East of England, a Government Funded programme to provide additional support to regional museums. The partnership is supported by Renaissance East Midlands, Cambridgeshire County Council and a number of other local organisations and agencies. More information can be found on the official website.

<sup>17</sup> Kings Lynn Magazine August 2011 [online resource].

<sup>18</sup> The project also included a number of holiday activities for children (aged 5 -15) *Fenland Citizen* August 4<sup>th</sup> 2010. A DVD was produced featuring all the different films and the workshops. Some of the individual films can also be found on *you-tube*.

*Long Tom, Samuel and the Worm* and *The Dead Moon* were featured in a way that shortened the stories whilst still keeping relatively closely to the original storylines.

I went to visit the exhibition and noted that the display (board 3)<sup>19</sup> contained a sample of the original text from *The Dead Moon* which encouraged visitors to have a go at reading it out loud. The display also included the statement that “these dialects were rarely written down, so few survive. The language, like the stories, has evolved over generations.” I spoke to Hall<sup>20</sup> and was informed that the only visitor who could successfully manage to read the original text was a Scottish woman. Though Hall had asked the Folklore Society for permission to reproduce the stories in the original dialect,<sup>21</sup> he was unaware that the *Legends* were collected in north Lincolnshire, or that Balfour was born in Scotland.

The *Legends* were also featured within the short-lived but innovative **Fens Discovery Centre** at Springfields Outlet Centre, Spalding, Lincolnshire. The project<sup>22</sup> which was opened in 2004, featured some entertaining and informative displays on the history of the Fens and included a sound-scape featuring the voice of actor Jim Broadbent narrating, in dialect, some of the parts of the *Legends*. The centre closed in late 2010 and the building now lies empty. I have been trying, unsuccessfully to obtain a copy of this recording. There is however, a short shadow puppet film about the project and the *Tale of Tiddy Mun* online.<sup>23</sup> The commentary sets the story in the Ancholme Valley and has the villagers offering the water back to Tiddy Mun so that he would break the spell.

#### 4.2.5 Live Performances of the *Legends*

The storytelling and puppet group, **The Babbling Vagabonds** were commissioned to create a performance piece of a “traditional tale from Lincolnshire” for primary school children aged 5-10. They chose *The Buried Moon*<sup>24</sup> and used shadows, performers, puppets and original music for their tour which visited Stamford, Spalding, North Hykeham, Louth and Gainsborough. The performance followed the main themes,

<sup>19</sup> This text, written by Elie Hughes, Curator of Ely Museum, can be found online.

<sup>20</sup> Conversation 2011. Hall had been brought up in West Winch, a village south of Kings Lynn on the flat land on the east side of the River Nar, a Fenland landscape.

<sup>21</sup> So that they could be included in a big mock leather-bound volume called *The Storybook Stories*.

<sup>22</sup> The Centre, which cost £1.2 million was funded by a range of partners including Lincolnshire Development, Lincolnshire Fenland Leader Plus and Lincolnshire Enterprise. It aimed to provide a Networked Tourist Information Centre, Gift Shop, Education and Conference Facility and an Interactive Discovery Centre.

<sup>23</sup> You-Tube film.

<sup>24</sup> A review of the performance can be found on You-Tube.

though they had performers acting as children to frame the story and had a lone, young boy rescue the moon.

The **Vital Communities** Cambridgeshire Arts Project included Wisbech St Mary Primary School where the focus was the story of *The Dead Moon*. Children created the backdrop, with artist Sue Curtis, and performed the 'Fenland' tale as re-written by actor Tom Marty in June 2007.<sup>25</sup> I went to see this performance and was disappointed to find that there was no emphasis on the tale being from ancient times, but rather a feeling that the modern fens were dark and dismal places where the moon was buried. This darkness sharply contrasted with the singing of Summer Holiday, and the emphasis on far away, bright, sunlit holiday destinations in the Opening scene and the Finale.

In 2008, Mablethorpe, Lincolnshire held a Bathing Beauties Festival<sup>26</sup> at which there was a puppet show on the story of *Tiddy Mun* by Yorkshire based Frolicked Puppet Theatre, and puppet maker and performer **Beka Haigh**. She had found *Tiddy Mun* while researching Boggarts and decided that as they were so similar “they should almost be twins” she would use the same molds to make the puppet.<sup>27</sup> The performance was “an interactive and improvised walkabout with tribal echoes.” Haigh is from Sowerby Bridge, Yorkshire and was inspired by some fascinating accounts of local supernatural sightings of boggarts, outlined in books in her local library and by stories told to her as a child.

#### **4.2.6 Songs and Poems inspired by the *Legends***

The character of *Tiddy Mun* is the subject of a song by **Rosie Eade**. A live performance has been posted on You-Tube in which Rosie acknowledged that she had first come across the creature in a story in a book at school. The song, which appears on her debut album *No Fairytale*, “a concept album bringing together folk myths and fairytales, with a dark twist”<sup>28</sup> includes words from the story. Correspondence with Rosie revealed that she had read about *Tiddy Mun* in Briggs (1969). She lived at the time near the river landscapes between Dedham and Flatford and acknowledged that for her “the story also links in with the idea of mother nature and not interfering too much with the environment, because while one side prospers there is always a side that

---

<sup>25</sup> Pupils prepare for Dead Moon, *Fenland Citizen* 6<sup>th</sup> June 2007.

<sup>26</sup> Mablethorpe Tourism website.

<sup>27</sup> Email February 2012.

<sup>28</sup> Eade's website.

suffers, such as the natural wildlife.”<sup>29</sup>

*Tiddy Mun* is also the inspiration for a poem by **Patricia Monaghan**, Professor of Interdisciplinary Studies, De Paul University, Chicago, the author of *The Red-Haired Girl from the Bog: The Landscape of Irish Myth and Spirit* and *The Encyclopedia of Celtic Myth and Legend*. She “spent a winter reading through all of *Folklore*, and found that story, with its evocative sense of a lost world, very moving.”<sup>30</sup>

*Yallery's Way* is a 1973 song by **Bernie Parry**, featured on his album *Earth Apples*. He states that this is “Another song from my folklore days. I did an early tour of North Lincolnshire and became entranced by their local stories. Wendell and Wade were giants who strode about, the Faery Ryde was a dance of spirits across the land. Yallery Brown was a local daemon who had skin that was coloured yellowy brown. Hence the name.”<sup>31</sup>

#### 4.2.7 Other Inspiration from the *Legends*

**John Holden** used the original text of *Sam'l's Ghost* for his artists book *Lots of Company: Night after Day after Night*. This cloth covered book has the tale printed three times, the first being an adaptation which is close to the original with some modern dialect; the second a Traditional Chinese translation, using traditional calligraphic characters, and the third is the original dialect from *Folk-Lore*.<sup>32</sup> Holden fused “image, typography, story and folk-tale” so that the book became “a unique re-staging” which was “intended to draw parallels and connections between concepts of artifice, history and myth.”<sup>33</sup> Holden aimed to combine the western and eastern tradition of the 'photo-graphic' novel.

*The Dead Moon*, described as a story about the marshlands of South Lincolnshire, provided one of the stimuli for the Boston Grammar Schools Federation **Comenious** artwork project during which Key Stage 3 students illustrated a local fairy tale.<sup>34</sup>

*Tiddy Mun* is the name of bus 123 run by **Norfolk Green Buses**.<sup>35</sup> He is described as “A bog spirit worshipped in South Lincolnshire, *Tiddy Mun* is believed to be able to harness the power of the mists and the tides to avenge the draining of the fens”. The

<sup>29</sup> Email correspondence March 2012.

<sup>30</sup> Email correspondence February 2012.

<sup>31</sup> Parry's website.

<sup>32</sup> Email November 2009.

<sup>33</sup> Online review.

<sup>34</sup> Boston High School website.

<sup>35</sup> Norfolk Green website.

**Middle Level Commissioners** have named one of the new pumps, that have been installed to keep the fenland dry, after *Tiddy Mun*.<sup>36</sup>

### **4.3 EXPLORING (AND ADDRESSING) THE VIEWS OF MODERN FOLKLORISTS, STORYTELLERS AND OTHERS**

“A written work necessarily has a fixed text, but an oral composition may be added to or subtracted from at any time and by different people...What one hears on a particular occasion is less likely to be the product of a single human mind at a single point in time than is a literary work. The notion of an individual signature at the bottom of the canvas is out of place when the mural has been touched and retouched by numerous hands in the course of its preparation” (Goody 1992, p.14).

#### **4.3.1 Critics of the *Legends* and the Authenticity of the Tales**

**Neil Philip**, specialist in English Language, Literature and Myth, stated that “...England is very rich in comic anecdotes, local legends, and stories of witches, ghosts, giants and fairies. These short, localised tales could be recounted off the cuff in many situations...(1993, p. 93). A year earlier Philip had included *The Flyin’ Childer* and *The Green Mist* in dialect in his *The Penguin Book of English Folk Tales* (1992.)<sup>37</sup> He noted the similarity of the latter to a later published story (see types section) and described the former as being “one of the most terrible of all English folktales” (1992, p. 154). Along with this information he also included the following:

...this, like Mrs Balfour's other stories, is sufficiently strange unlike anything else collected even in Lincolnshire by folklorists such as Ethel Rudkin and Mabel Peacock, as to raise real doubt as to the authenticity of the material, despite the circumstantial information provided about the narrators, and the printing in three cases of field notes (Philip,1992, p. 156).

Philip also referred to the comment in the Norton Manuscript notes (as explored earlier in this thesis) and noted that Jacobs, Briggs and Dorson, had accepted the *Legends*.

A criticism of Balfour's description of the area was also included:

Lindsey was never a discrete social or economic area to sustain such a distinctive and atavistic culture; Balfour's claim to have discovered...inhabitants speaking 'almost pure Saxon' and possessed of such grim and violent

<sup>36</sup> Local school children in Wiggshall, Norfolk were invited to name the pumps.

<sup>37</sup> Philip also followed Dorson in describing Balfour as “an aunt by marriage to Robert Louis Stevenson” (1992, p156).

imaginings, is not really supported by any other evidence (Philip, 1992, p. 156).

The isolation of the area has been addressed in the history section of this thesis as has the antiquated language. It could also be argued that the incident in which two Redbourne children falsely reported a murder, and were punished by the village school,<sup>38</sup> is indicative of a “violent imagination.” This has also been supported by the research of Wilson and the testimonies of many storytellers concerning the enthusiasm of older primary school children, and particularly teenagers (Wilson 1997) for the ‘gorier’ stories.

Philip also found the dialect problematical, stating that it differed from Peacock (1886). He noted Rudkin's comment of it being “shocking” (1955) and described *Tattercoats* (which is likely to have been edited by Jacobs) as ‘literary’. He concluded his critique by noting that the *Legends* “represent a high achievement of the Gothic imagination” (1992, p. 157).

In 2005, **Jeremy Harte**, a researcher into folklore and archaeology, and prominent member of the Folklore Society, won the Katharine Briggs Award<sup>39</sup> for his book *Explore Fairy Traditions* (2004). Within the chapter on the telling of the stories, he described his belief that Balfour created the *Legends* and that “they are better than the real” fairy stories, “for a fake is produced to fit our expectations of what something should be...it is only when taste has moved on that the authenticating details start to look sham” (2004, p. 20).

The *Legends* to Harte were “like something out of James Frazer's *Golden Bough*” and Balfour “deserves some credit for creating a myth of rural paganism some fifty years before Gerald Gardner bared all” (2004, p. 19). Ignoring the fact that the content of the *Legends* merited at least ten separate entries, including shortened versions of the tales, within Briggs (1969), and her comment that the *Legends* were similar to the “macabre temper of many of the stories in W H Barrett's ‘*Tales from the Fens*’ he deduced that “The Folklore Society was conducted on ladylike principles in those days...” and theorised that this led to Briggs ignoring the disbelief in the authenticity of the tales.

Harte reinforced his argument by quoting selectively from Jacobs comments on the

---

<sup>38</sup> See section 2.4.

<sup>39</sup> The award is presented annually by the Folklore Society “to encourage the study of folklore, to help improve the standard of folklore publications in Britain and Ireland, to establish the Folklore Society as an arbiter of excellence, and to commemorate the life and work of the distinguished scholar Katharine Mary Briggs.” (Folklore Society website).

stories sent by Balfour, joining remarks on *Yallery Brown* that “One might almost suspect Mrs Balfour of being the victim of a piece of invention...” with *The Stars in the Sky*, “...scarcely after the manner of the folk.” The former in Jacobs' text had the addition of “But the scrap of verse, especially in its original dialect, has such a folkish ring that it is probable he was only adapting a local legend to his own circumstances...”, and the latter referred to the probability that the Scottish tale, told to Balfour by her old nurse, (probably many years earlier) indicated “a transmission through minds tainted with culture and introspection.” I have commented in section 1.6 on the likelihood of the nurse being literate.

This blanket criticism of Balfour without any concern for researching the context of the *Legends* is surprising when compared to Harte's own recommendations in 1998. In the preface to his online publication *Alternative Approaches to Folklore – A bibliography 1969-1996*, Harte asks:

What kind of people are the tellers of these tales, and the performers of these customs? This is a question most folklorists will want to pose, once they have gone beyond the mechanical response of cataloguing tale types...(Harte, 1998, p2).

Harte did not stop with his allegations that Balfour created stories, he also accused her of plagiarism, in adding a few literary touches to a tale from Richardson's *Table Book* (1846) and sending it to Jacobs, stating it was as told by a Mrs. W of North Sunderland. Jacobs, as stated earlier in this thesis, noted that this tale (*My Own Self*), was widely spread in the North Country. The similarity between the narrative and Richardson's much more condensed version (the former with 980, and the latter 350 words) could be the result of Mrs. W's own informants having heard Richardson's literary tale and 'made it their own' for, as Dégh noted the general public did not distinguish between oral narrator and tale writer and regarded published stories as common property free for anyone to use and change (1991, p. 69).

Harte's work has been given online exposure by **Michael Behrend**, a retired software engineer, with an interest in earth mysteries and antiquarians, whose web-pages *Republications* aims to publish scanned versions of books and articles that are out of copyright. Behrend has a section on Lincolnshire on which he has posted information on Balfour and the *Legends*.<sup>40</sup> The text attached to this states that the “ten folktales”

---

<sup>40</sup> The pages were added in June 2011 and include a link to my own site.



were collected in “the wetlands of North Lincolnshire” and that Balfour had attempted “to record them in local dialect, but sometimes falls into idioms that belong to her native Scotland rather than Lincolnshire.” He then describes Balfour as “a skilful storyteller” and notes the questioning over the authenticity which is covered in another web-page. This latter page entitled “Are the legends authentic?” includes the comment on the doubts that have been expressed, from time to time, about the authenticity of the *Legends* and quotes extensively from Philip and Harte, including the charge of plagiarism of the story *Me A'an Sel* (*My Own Self*), by the latter.<sup>41</sup>

Behrend also included, on his web-pages, the texts to enable a comparison between Richardson's and Jacobs' versions of *My Own Self*. Adjoining this page Behrend described Harte's theory that the stories agree “pretty much word for word” as an “overstatement” though he added that “the resemblances between the two versions are so close as to suggest that, even if Balfour heard some tale of the kind from “Mrs. W”, she had Richardson's version in front of her when writing up.”

#### 4.3.2 Impartial Views of the *Legends*

**Donald Haase**, of Wayne State University, a Fairy Tale and Folk-tale scholar also has also considered the debate over the *Legends* authenticity. He noted:

No doubt there have always been some storytellers who changed traditional narratives to suit their personal tastes, and others whose tales do not fit into recognisable categories and patterns. Unless the folklorist who collects such non-standard stories is known to be scrupulously accurate, doubts can arise over their authenticity as folklore. One group of tales presenting problems of this kind are the twelve “Legends of the Lincolnshire Cars”<sup>42</sup>...Some give hints of mythical themes and rural paganism; others have weird, ghoulish motifs. Although Balfour took them down in note form from informants whom she names, the expanded versions she printed are in thick dialect that later scholars have criticised as linguistically inaccurate. There is some suspicion that she tampered with the contents as well as the language, but Jacobs and Briggs accepted them as authentic. (Haase 2008, p. 300)

In the *The Lore of the Land*, the late scholar of folklore, **Jennifer Westwood** and eminent folklorist **Jacqueline Simpson** included information on the fairy folk as outlined in the *Legends*, including *Tiddy Mun*:

This story and other legends...all of a singularly eerie nature, were written down by Mrs Marie Clothilde Balfour in 1890...Ethel Rudkin, writing in 1954, says of them that 'unfortunately their dialect is shocking.' Folklorists have indeed been

<sup>41</sup> The versions of *My Own Self* can be found in Appendix 19.

<sup>42</sup> Haase has chosen to include *Coat o' Clay* and *Tattercoats* amongst the collection.

wondering ever since Mrs Balfour repeated these atmospheric stories, so well adapted to the mists of the Carrs, whether they were derived from the oral tradition, or whether, from a snippet of folk tradition and scholarly fantasies of ancient ceremonies, she wove her own fairytales. Whatever the answer, they have become beloved of storytellers and are now part of Lincolnshire folklore. (Westwood & Simpson 2005, p. 440)

Folklorists Carmen Blacker & Hilda Ellis Davidson referred to Balfour and the collecting of the *Legends* without any mention of the debate in their book entitled *Women and Tradition: A Neglected Group of Folklorists* (2000, p.8).

### 4.3.3 Acceptance of the *Legends* as Authentic

Landscape archaeologist **Stephen Rippon**, of the University of Exeter explored the belief in the flat marsh and fenlands as being “remote and dangerous areas” inhabited by “strangers” and “terrorised by the likes of giants, fearsome animals, and even the devil himself.” He mentioned the character of *Tiddy Mun* and also noted the rebellions against drainage that were exemplified by the actions of 'Fen Tigers' who obstructed the work (2009, pp. 51-53).

North-East Lincolnshire folklore and song researcher **Ruairidh Greig**, when asked about his thoughts on the *Legends* stated that:

For what it's worth, I don't think she made the stories up, any more than Mabel Peacock or Rev. Penny did. Why should she? We know she managed to find a publisher for her later works, despite the rather mediocre quality of her own work. There was a ready market for children's stories, short stories etc. without having to dip into dialect. I believe the "Tales" were honest efforts to reproduce what she had heard.<sup>43</sup>

Greig expanded on this by saying that he had researched Balfour's work a number of years ago and personally believed that she may have spoken to her husband's patients. He had discussed the authenticity question with Elder, who had earlier discussed the *Legends* with Rudkin, both of whom agreed that whilst the stories seemed to have been from the county, the dialect was poorly recorded.

Patron of the Society for Storytelling, **Kevin Crossley-Holland** recalled:

When I worked on the legends, I had a sense (as the translator/re-teller often does) of sitting at the elbow of their originator, and I found no reason to doubt Mabel (sic)Balfour's own account of her work. One only wishes that she had said much more. It wouldn't be very surprising, would it, if the legends were also

---

<sup>43</sup> Email December 2011.

embellished (if that's the word) here and there by Mrs Balfour.<sup>44</sup>

**Diane Purkiss**, of Keble College, Oxford, a published historian, with an interest in folklore, explained in the introduction to her book *Troublesome Things; a history of fairies and fairy stories*, how reading the *Yallery Brown* had shaken her previous belief in the kindly fairies who grant wishes, with the realisation that these creatures could make you regret having made a wish. She considered *Yallery Brown* to be like “some local incarnation of Delphic Apollo” and she, as she read “felt a shiver down [her] spine, proof of a kind of authenticity” (2000, p. 2).

Fenland storyteller and folklorist **Polly Howat**, as stated in section 4.2, included the *Legends* in books, performances and on tape. She has told these stories for many years to varied audiences and has come to believe that *Tiddy Mun* was used as a scapegoat for the killing of the Dutch drainage engineers, the blame of which was put on the Fen Tigers further south.<sup>45</sup> She acknowledged the importance of the moon which shone 'everywhere' over the fens and appreciated the phenomenon of the *Green Mist* as being the reflection of the new growth of spring. Regarding the collection itself, she informed me that she “cannot vouch for their authenticity, but they do have similarities with some traditional tales of the North Cambridgeshire Fens, where I live. I am fascinated by these evocative, watery tales and their horde of general and esoteric folklore. It is a delight to retell these satisfying stories especially that of the surreal *Dead Moon*.”<sup>46</sup>

Norfolk based storyteller and author **Hugh Lupton** also has many years experience of telling a number of the *Legends* to varied audiences. When I interviewed him,<sup>47</sup> he outlined his belief that stories find their form by being told over and over again and that with “the ones that are really formed you get that feeling about them, like *Yallery Brown* and *The Dead Moon*.” *Tiddy Mun*, he felt “has got the framing, and the refrain 'Tiddy Mun, wi'out a name...' it's fantastic. This to me, is the signifier that it has come through an oral process. It is the same with *Yallery Brown*”. Lupton noted that “*Yallery Brown* is one of a family of fairy motifs” where one mistake in crossing 'them' leads to problems, in a “no-win situation.” He described *The Dead Moon* as “a great little story”

---

<sup>44</sup> Email April 2012

<sup>45</sup> This view has been echoed by Humphrys (2008, p. 3) and Brooks (1994, p. 100).

<sup>46</sup> As a folklore collector Howat had also interviewed Arthur Randall, the old Fenland raconteur and, after having an interesting chat with him about folklore and the past he advised “you don't want to believe everything I tell you, do you girl!” (Howat 2012). Randall (1901-1988) wrote a number of books on life in the Fens.

<sup>47</sup> Lupton 2012.

“that audiences love” but noted that it has a motif that doesn't appear anywhere else in British Mythology. *The Green Mist*, Lupton felt, works well in the telling, and though it is quite dark, it is also poetic and, he believed, the motif of the soul being connected to something that needs to be maintained, was a common one. He concluded that the *Legends* permeate with the sense of “not-safeness” and with “malevolent beings, though some of the tales are more “local legends, without the strong narrative”.

Regarding the audience response to the *Legends* he remarked that when he tells them in the Fens there is a “recognition of people hearing their own stories...the sense of ownership, adding another dimension to places they are familiar with.”

Regarding *The Dead Moon*, Hampshire storyteller **Mike O' Leary** recalled how he first heard the story in the late 1960s told by George Massey, a basket maker, on the Somerset Levels. When he later read a published version of the *Legend*, that placed it in the fens, he thought at first that it had been “stolen from the Levels” as it was so similar to the version he had heard. He further described his thoughts at that time:

Because I heard it from Massey, for many years I had thought of it as being Somerset Levels story. It has that mythic element, rare to English stories, but present on the levels. It may well be that Massey got it from Balfour - I have no idea how literate he was. This was in the late 60s...<sup>48</sup>

Yorkshire based storyteller, and historian, **Helen Frances** noted that:

there is something particularly gruesome about living in the marshes, and finding the bodies of lost travellers heaved up, occasionally, and limbs. Context is all, in my view...if you read *Yallery Brown* as a stand alone story it feels a little over-told, for a written story, and a bit far-fetched, and a bit unusual in that it portrays the darker, less comfortable side of the house pixie stories. but if you start remembering that you have lost the context for the story as soon as it's written down into a manuscript, and this could be the teller's best story, and the best version of this story told locally, then it begins to fit in with the continuum, rather than being an isolated incident...<sup>49</sup>

**Lynne Langley**, a story enthusiast from Scunthorpe, discussed the *Legends* with her 89 year old mother:<sup>50</sup>

My thoughts on the authenticity of the legends I suppose is based on growing up in the area and hearing very similar stories told me as "old stories". My mother has no doubts that the legends originated in the Carrs; the language used, the

---

<sup>48</sup> Telephone conversation November 2012 and posting on online forum. Massey may have had access to Jacobs *More English Fairy Tales* which had been reprinted in 1942 and 1968.

<sup>49</sup> Email September 2011.

<sup>50</sup> Email October 2011 and May 2012.

characters, the plots, were all familiar to her from her childhood and all seemed well grounded in this area. There's always been a belief in my family and families of friends here that "looking forward" to something is somehow dangerous and bodes ill!... if I say "I'm looking forward to my holiday" she will instantly reply "Don't say that!" We don't know who it may be but we in the Carrs still have a feeling that someone is listening in the silence of the fields!!

**Tim Davies**, a librarian with North Lincolnshire Library & Information Services, who tells *The Buried Moon* as part of local ghost walks observed:<sup>51</sup>

In the tales, the Otherworld is ever-present and active in day-to-day life, and is always malicious...There is a certain strain of healthy disrespect for authority in this area, along with a proud independence of spirit and a strong strain of self-sufficiency...which may chime with the uneasy relationship with the Other expressed in the *Legends*. The only occasion on which the Other is treated with genuine respect is 'Tiddy Mun'...

Regarding the portrayal of the natural world within the *Legends*, Davies stated:

Natural phenomena are many in the *Legends*. The weather, the darkness of the night, the calls of birds, the whistling of the wind...all are an integral part of the tales. Nature is almost a character in her own right. This is not surprising in an area where the natural world is more noticeable than elsewhere... North Lincolnshire has a landscape dominated by water...Drainage ditches criss-cross the landscape, their presence a reminder of the finely-balanced relationship between the land and those who live on it (and off it.)...Although the memory of the marshes is perhaps faded, it still lives – so it is natural that the tales should have such a focus on water and that, like the Other, water is predominantly seen as something to be distrusted...

Davies recalled his experience of telling the stories:

The tales are surprising, to a folklorist; however, in them man is seen as having to be cautious and warily respectful of nature, and needing a certain stubbornness of spirit to survive – these are demonstrably part of the northern Lincolnshire character...For a storyteller, the tales are a pleasure to tell – not simply because people are pleased to discover such an unusual aspect of the area's heritage, but also because the surprising yet vivid images within them do seem to resonate with the local landscape. The imagination of the hearer (as much as the teller) can feel comfortable with this resonance, and is left free to enjoy the stories in a context which has an emotional 'fit'.

It is also interesting to note Codd's recent publication, *Mysterious Lincolnshire* (2007) quotes extensively from the *Legends* as does the new *Folklore of Lincolnshire* by local historian Susanna O' Neill (2012).

---

<sup>51</sup> Email April 2012.

#### **4.3.4 A similar case? Jack Zipes and Laura Gonzenach**

Jack Zipes researched the collection of Sicilian tales by Laura Gonzenbach which initially received a good reception when first published in 1870. The tales were translated into German and published with notes which indicate that the stories were written down exactly as told by the peasant and lower-middle class women, and were not censored or changed.<sup>52</sup> She stated “Now I'd like to be able to tell you that I've done my best to write down the tales exactly as they were told to me. However, I've not been able to recapture the genuine charm of these tales that lies in the manner and way the tales are told by these Sicilian women” (Zipes, 2004, p. xv).

Zipes acknowledged that Gonzenbach was not an academic, nor a Sicilian, and as such may have “stolen the fire” of the Sicilian folklorists, by her research which described the peasant customs, and also indicated that the people had a profound belief in magic and the miraculous (2004, p. xi).

The similarities between the introductory comments of Gonzenbach and Balfour show that they both had the same intentions. However, whereas Balfour's *Legends* are considered unique, many of the tales from Sicily are variants of stories that were also collected by the Grimms (Zipes 2004, p. xxiv).

#### **4.3.5 The tales of Franz Xaver Von Schönwerth**

In March 2012 news reached this country of a collection of 500 fairytales that had been collected by historian Franz Xaver Von Schönwerth, and which, according to curator Erika Eichenseer, contain many tales “which do not appear in other European fairytale collections.”<sup>53</sup> The nineteenth century collector had spent decades asking people in Bavaria for snippets of folklore and tales. He compiled his research into three volumes which were published between 1857 and 1859 but faded into obscurity. As an historian Von Schönwerth had recorded the tales faithfully, and had made no attempt to put a “literary gloss” on them. To date there has not been an English translation of these tales and so I have not been able to compare them to the *Legends*; however, at some time in the future this may be possible.

---

<sup>52</sup> Though Zipes acknowledges that there may have been stylistic changes made.

<sup>53</sup> Messerer 2012. Online.

## 4.4 CHAPTER SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has shown, firstly within section 4.2, that the *Legends* have inspired a large number of diverse adaptations, in published form, audio and video format and other media, and that the core stories, with the exception of Gowar's version of *Yallery Brown*, have changed little from the narratives submitted to *Folk-Lore* by Balfour. The tales have, over the last few decades, been included within story collections within Lincolnshire, but due to the publication of the majority of the stories within Crossley-Holland's collections from "East Anglia and the Fen Country" they have become an inspiration for those exploring the cultural roots of the Cambridgeshire Fens. The popularity of the *Legends* was enhanced within the Fenland district, by Howat, Lupton, and Rouse, the latter two of which have included within their narratives, influences from other sources.

The multi-media projects based on, or influenced by the *Legends*, which include *Carrlands*, *Fenland Stories* and the *Fens Discovery Centre* have produced outcomes that have made the stories accessible to audiences using the world-wide-web. Alongside this, live performances, songs, poems and other artworks have also increased awareness of the stories. *Tiddy Mun* seems to have captured more of the public imagination than the other *Legends* and has become the name for a Norfolk bus and one of the major pumps used in the fen drainage today.

Within section 4.3 I have indicated that there are three individuals making allegations against the authenticity of the *Legends*, of which two both directly accuse Balfour of both falsification and plagiarism. The first, Philip, suggested that Balfour's claims were false but Harte, and then Behrend, accepted and then enlarged upon his work. None of the critics looked for the actual historical, social and cultural context in which the *Legends* were gathered or considered the motives of Balfour.

Within my research I have also come across three academics that have chosen just to state the criticisms of the *Legends* and not make personal comment and two who must have been aware of the controversy regarding Balfour and chose not to mention it.

It has been academics from other disciplines, along with authors and storytellers that have provided statements to show their faith in the authenticity of the *Legends*. Amongst the variety of testimonies, the most enlightening of accounts are by Lupton and Davies, the former of which both outlines the performative aspects of the *Legends*

and also notes that some of the tales match with established motifs. The latter gives a good account of how the *Legends* fit with the landscape of North Lincolnshire. As noted before, this section needs to be read alongside the adaptations section.

The section ends with a brief accounts of the case of Gonzenbach, whose work, according to Zipes was ignored for decades, and the find of a large number of tales from Bavaria, some of which are reputed to be different from the established European canon. The experience of Gonzenbach's work draws parallels with Balfour and the Bavarian collection indicates that there is still much to be found, and translated into English.



## 5 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

I started this thesis with a definition of the term 'legend' which showed that whilst the *Legends* included in the first two parts, with the exception of *A Pottle o' Brains*, fit the description, the tales in the final part do not. Also within Chapter 1, I explored the life of Balfour: her birth in Edinburgh; her early childhood in New Zealand, during which her father died tragically; the return to Scotland, when she and her mother, stayed firstly with her cousin R L Stevenson and his parents, and later with artist relatives; her marriage to her cousin James; her time in Redbourne, North Lincolnshire where the *Legends* were collected; her move to Northumberland where she used printed sources to collect evidence for the County Folklore series; her stay in Brittany, which inspired a number of novels and short stories; her return to the city of her birth, and the death of her husband; her move to London and the later years of her life in Bath. I also noted a number of dramatic family stories that Balfour seems not to have used to inspire her highly descriptive, literary style writing.

A key part of the first chapter was also an investigation into the influences behind the formation of the Folklore Society, and the impact this may have had on the collection of and reaction to the *Legends*. This demonstrated that the members of the Council shared a belief in a linear progression of society from the savage, to the peasant, to the civilised, and as a consequence, were looking for proof of survival of aspects of these early stages. These leading scholars within the Folklore Society also showed a reluctance to go out 'into the field,' and though they made efforts to persuade their membership to seek for evidence of the dying traditions, beliefs and folk stories, they preferred the collation of entries from published sources. The members of the Folklore Society that did choose to collect folk tales from informants, were encouraged to record the stories in dialect and to use scientific methods.

Balfour, who had collected the *Legends* whilst living in the Lincolnshire Carrs in the late 1880's, was elected as a member of the Folklore Society in 1891. Lang had included a tale that she had collected in Lincolnshire in both *Longman's Magazine* and *Folk-Lore* and this had received a favourable reaction from Burne, perhaps prompting Balfour to send the *Legends* to the Society. Her actual motivation for the collection and submission of the stories is unclear, but is likely to be influenced by the prevailing views and interests of the time, which included, not just the pagan survivals evidenced

within folklore, but also fairies and vikings. After she moved to Northumberland, Balfour collected folklore from published sources only, for the edition of the County Folklore series, but continued to collect folk tales from the people, to be sent to Jacobs. She resigned from the Folklore Society in 1902, two years before the Northumberland folklore book was published.

Jacobs as editor of *Folk-lore* at the time, was supportive of both Balfour and the *Legends*, which were announced as being fine examples of Lincolnshire dialect stories, within the advertisement for the publication. This remark validates the serious, though perhaps misguided efforts of Balfour to record the stories in dialect. Jacobs dismissed any doubts about *Yallery Brown*, because of its 'folkish ring,' and removed some of the darker references in *Buried Moon*, within his *More English Fairy Tales*. He also included Balfour's comments regarding the framing of the latter. There was also only one comment regarding the *Legends* within *Folk-Lore*, and this was not unfavourable. In Lincolnshire, the *Legends* were accepted by Walter, at the time, but drew no reaction from other folklorists such as the Peacocks. Later Rudkin used the content of the *Legends* unquestionably to support a paper which she read to the Folklore Society in 1954.

Just over a decade after Rudkin's favourable paper, Dorson also referred positively to the *Legends*; however, his views were not shared by Norton who wrote a short cryptic note within his *Manuscripts*. Briggs, who used these *Manuscripts* as the foundation for her *Dictionaries*, included many of the *Legends*, within the comprehensive collection, though she may have fueled the doubts by erroneously criticising the use of the term 'Bogles'; repeating and then disregarding uncertainties over the genuineness of *The Dead Moon* and *The Strangers' Share*; and by noting the uniqueness of *The Green Mist*.

Within Chapter 2 I outlined the geographical and historical contexts within which the *Legends* may have been composed, told, and eventually collected. I commenced with an exploration of the landscapes of north Lincolnshire to show how the area was, and still is dominated by water, both at its boundaries and in the centre, through which the River Ancholme still flows. I also noted how the Ancholme Valley and the Isle of Axholme, further west, were both once marshland but are now drained for agricultural use, though still at risk of inundation. The village of Redbourne is now a quiet rural village, displaying just echoes of its watery, and later agricultural past.

The introductions to the *Legends*, and to *Tiddy Mun* in particular refer to this drainage of the Ancholme Carrs. The area, though first subject to drainage works in the seventeenth century, was not fully protected from flooding until the nineteenth century when steam pumps became available. Local people, who resented the disruption of their wetland lifestyles rebelled against this work which was carried out by Dutchmen and Scottish prisoners. In the nineteenth century the lifestyle of the people of the Carrs was further changed through the introduction of the gang labour system and then mechanisation which, though they did not specifically impact on Redbourne, caused much disruption elsewhere and even resulted in cases of arson. Such incendiarism was a key feature of the tales of *Fred th' Fool* and indirectly of *Sam'l's Ghost*.

Alongside the historical changes in North Lincolnshire came the introduction of a national system of education which actively discouraged not just folk beliefs, but also the use of local dialects. The Duke of St. Albans paid for a school to be established in Redbourne in 1840, and a master arrived shortly after, to remain in post for over 40 years. He taught the children songs including 'The Moon' and 'The Fairies Dance' which may have impacted on the imaginations of the pupils, and consequently the *Legends*.

The prominent stained glass window in Redbourne church which portrayed the Last Judgement, can also be viewed as an influence in two of the *Legends*. The local vicar, who also remained in the village for over four decades, was known for his macabre interest in the deaths of the early Christian Martyrs and of the opinion that the Roman Catholic Church was founded on heathenism. However, if evidence from elsewhere is considered, he is likely to have found, as is clearly mentioned by the teller of *The Green Mist*, that alongside his teachings, the older members of the congregation also held on to their folk beliefs. The younger villagers, subject to the education system with its negative influences on such superstitions would undoubtedly have dismissed the beliefs of their elders, as the narrator of *Tiddy Mun* clearly lamented.

The health of the population of North Lincolnshire was also explored, as was the likely role of Balfour's husband as the doctor in Redbourne. A key health factor in the early nineteenth century flatlands was marsh fever, or ague, for which opium was taken to relieve symptoms. When the home grown stock was replaced by cheap, imported, processed supplies during the Opium Wars, the poor, hard-working people became addicted in huge numbers. The babies were also given doses of the drug to enable their

mothers to work on the newly drained lands. This consumption of opium, which Balfour mentioned within the introduction to the *Legends*, had a powerful effect on the imagination, building on existing fears and causing hallucinations, the like of which echo the darker experiences in a number of the tales, particularly *The Dead Hand*. These fears may also have been accentuated by the finds of bog bodies in the Isle of Axholme, a similar landscape, not many miles from Redbourne.

Chapter 3 contained firstly, a look at the history of storytelling in the nineteenth century, followed by an examination of the evidence concerning the collecting of the *Legends*, and an investigation into the narrative and introductory content. Genealogical sources were also used to search for the individuals who were named as the tellers of some of the *Legends*.

The Balfour's lived in the vicarage in Redbourne, and they would have been required to welcome people into the home for medical treatment. One of Balfour's novels describes a house with clear similarities to the one she lived in and has revealed that the kitchen, which may in reality have been the doctor's waiting room, was a welcoming venue for the local people with a warm fire, food and drink and somewhere to sit. This description gives strong indicators of being autobiographical. In order to collect the tales, it can also be assumed that Balfour, and probably her husband, had a sympathetic manner which would be conducive to revealing tales of the supernatural. Balfour may also have been able to remember, and tell a story herself to stimulate others to contribute their own belief legends.

The methods used by Balfour, who indicated her eagerness to document the *Legends* in a scientific manner, were also examined along, as were her impressions of the storytellers, who she believed were demonstrating primitive beliefs, which would be of interest to the Folklore Society and others subscribing to the evolutionary model. Balfour may also have recorded the tales in dialect form to demonstrate the Saxon, Norse and Danish influences; however, in her rendition of the *Legends* she revealed her feelings of superiority by re-spelling numerous words and inserting apostrophes throughout the texts, making them challenging to read and leading to Rudkin's later description of the dialect as 'shocking.' Analysis of this dialect does however, show that whilst it is mainly from Lincolnshire, it also includes some Yorkshire and Norse, and a few Scottish words. This dialectical inquiry also revealed differences in the styles of the

storytellers of the *Legends* in the first two parts included in *Folk-Lore*.

Regarding the actual narrative content of the *Legends*, whilst some of the tale types cannot be matched to the academic indexes, including Thompson, the motifs can be located and similar stories can be found within story collections, particularly from Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. I have shown that the *Legends* also contain the typical structure of oral stories and include many of the known performance strategies. Some are antiquated in language and style, others are more succinct and some are full of dialogue. The tales similarly include narrative phrases such as *however*, *mind you* and *anyway*; occasional words or syllables that are italicised for strong vocal emphasis; simple or compound sentences used rather than complex sentences. Along with these features, poetic devices are common, particularly repetition, similes, and onomatopoeic words are common. *Yallery Brown* and *Tiddy Mun* also contain rhymes and *A Pottle o' Brains* includes riddles, which are common features of the oral tradition, and in the case of the former, may link them to the cante-fable genre. Such tales have also been shown to have been collected by Mabel Peacock, who lived not far from Redbourne.

The *Legends* contain numerous folkloric references, which can be matched to actual beliefs within Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in the vast majority of cases: the bogs were viewed as dangerous places at night, and keep-safes were often carried for protection, as shown in *The Dead Hand*; the moon, known as the Parish Lantern was significant for the light it provided, and the new moon seen as a time for turning your money over so that it would grow as the moon waxed, as in *The Dead Moon*; the people of Lincolnshire carried out old rituals, as related within *The Green Mist* and *The Strangers' Share* and they were also wary of fairy places and believed there were 'little people' who could either help or hinder, like *Yallery Brown* and *Tiddy Mun*. The stories also include beliefs found in the Norse traditions, including the great worm that eats up dead bodies, which is a feature of the *The Flyin' Childer* and *Sam'l's Ghost*.

There are some folk customs in the *Legends* that cannot be verified within the county or elsewhere, though these have been shown to be not dissimilar to existing practices. These anomalies are likely to be either beliefs that have not been previously recorded, or added to the tales, to increase their effectiveness for Balfour, whose questions to the tellers indicated her interest in researching paganism.

Thankfully Balfour also included clues to the identities of the tellers of four of the

*Legends*. Searches of local history and genealogical sources reveal that the old lady who told the story of *Tiddy Mun* appears to have been Mary Whelpton, a native of Redbourne, and as mentioned in her introduction, was close to her grandchildren. The young girl who narrated the stories *The Dead Moon* and *Sam'l's Ghost* is likely to be Agnes Brattan, who was a similar age to Sarah Allina Brown, the probable teller of *Tattercoats*, a tale collected in the same area by Balfour but not sent to *Folk-Lore*. It can also reasonably be assumed that the raconteur who told Balfour the tale of *Yallery Brown*, in first person, was an agricultural labourer named Thomas Laming.

The place of the *Legends* in modern storytelling revival and the arts was explored in Chapter 4. A number of the stories have inspired varied adaptations, not just in published form but also in audio and video format. Within these adaptations the basic plots have changed little from the stories submitted to *Folk-Lore*, indicating, according to Lupton, that they had been worked on, and refined by many tellers.

It has also been noticeable that, despite the fact that some of the tales have been included in collections of Lincolnshire stories, Crossley-Holland's labelling of them as originating from "East Anglia and the Fen Country" has meant that they are now seen by storytellers and folklorists as Fenland tales. They have consequently provided the inspiration for a number of projects in Cambridgeshire, Norfolk and South Lincolnshire, which sought to provide glimpses into the long lost cultural life of the wetlands. Two of these projects included multi-media strands which, along with the North Lincolnshire based Carrlands, have resulted in some of the *Legends* (or at least aspects of the content) been made accessible on the world-wide-web. The *Legends* have also been recognised for their 'green' message and are now popular with modern neo-pagans, but that is another strand I have not had time or inclination to investigate within this thesis.

The views of the storytellers, who have told the tales in recent years, were also collected and of these, Howat, Lupton and Rouse, revealed a great faith in the fit of the *Legends* to the Fenland landscape. They each retained the core plot of the stories though they included within their narratives, influences, particularly personal names, from other sources.

The penultimate section of this thesis contains the view of academics, storytellers and other interested parties on the authenticity of the *Legends*. These include three folklorists who have stated the controversy regarding the *Legends* and have chosen not

to comment further, and a number of academics from other disciplines who have shown their faith in the suitability of the *Legends* as being from the flatland of Lincolnshire. The most comprehensive of testimonies are from Lupton and Davies, the former of which noted established motifs and performance techniques that show that the tales match the oral tradition, and the latter who testified that the *Legends* fit the landscape of the Lincolnshire Carrs.

I have found three individuals who have expressed views that Balfour may have composed the *Legends* herself, and two of these have directly accused Balfour of not just falsification but also plagiarism. Each have cited as evidence the comments made by Jacobs, Norton and Briggs, but have disregarded the statements of dismissal of such claims, by all except Norton. These critics, Harte, Philip and Behrend, have failed to closely examine the historical, social and cultural context in which the *Legends* were collected or to note the memorable quality of the *Legends*. As Thompson found from his gypsy informants, of those tales made up “if you was to ask me to tell you one I couldn't for the life o' me; they're all clean goen out'n my head. But the owld tales as I've know'd since I was no height, I can all'ays remember them.” (quoted in Philip, 1992, p. xix).

These critics have also failed to look logically at the collection. If Balfour had created such a body of tales, she would have needed to devise nine (or eleven if we include *Coat o' Clay* and *Tattercoats*) unique stories. She would then have had to write them up in different styles, in a complex, though inconsistent semi-phonetic system, that when analysed reveals a number of different Lincolnshire/Yorkshire voices. She would also have had to divide one of the tales into two, and give different names to the main characters within these tales. Another skill she would have required was to recognise the signatures of oral storytelling, namely the use of narrative phrases; the use of vocal emphasis; simple rather than compound sentences; repetition, similes and onomatopoeic words; the inclusion of validating statements relating to the truth of the tale, or knowledge of the teller.

The critics have also not addressed the fact that Balfour chose to submit the *Legends* to a journal that had a limited audience, and send a few to Jacobs, rather than seek a publisher herself. One question however, still remains to be answered – why haven't the stories been found elsewhere?

The complex answer to this question is likely to be that many of the tales are about beliefs in the supernatural, stories that, as I have shown, are not easily shared with others; many of the stories also appear to have been shaped by imaginations affected by opium addiction, a phenomenon that was accentuated in the early decades of the nineteenth century and not around for long; the tales are similarly peculiar to a flat, formerly wet but now drained, landscape. However, before this question can be answered definitively, further searches need to be made for parallels or variants of the *Legends* in other similar landscapes and/or in Norse and Irish collections<sup>1</sup> as well as the Bavarian collection of Von Schönwerth. A thorough investigation of the dialect to identify the origins of the different voices would also be helpful, along with more research into the affect of opium on the imaginations of the labouring classes

With regards to my personal plans for the future of my research, I would like to seek out, and work with the few dialect speakers that can still be found in North Lincolnshire, or the parts of Yorkshire just to the north of the Humber. My aim is to preserve the sound of their natural voices for future generations, by enabling them to perform, or at least recite, the *Legends* so that they can be recorded<sup>2</sup> and the results deposited, along with the transcripts at the Scunthorpe Museum and the British Library Sound Archive.

Such audio recordings could also provide the stimulus for artistic performance pieces by groups in the area, probably, due to the complexity of the subject matter, secondary school or youth groups which could be toured around the area in a travelling exhibition, and the recordings/outcomes preserved in the archives.

The inspiration for this proposed venture comes from the *Fenland Stories* project, which I have mentioned in this thesis. The museums project, which gained Heritage Lottery funding enabled the production of animated films, some of which were based on the *Legends*, and all of which were included on a DVD and on you-tube, for wider accessibility.

To fulfil the aims of the proposed North Lincolnshire project, I would wish to involve professional artists, including storytellers that have connections with the area. These include Simon Heywood (who was born in Lincolnshire) and Graham Langley (who

---

<sup>1</sup> As indicated by the motifs.

<sup>2</sup> Jim Broadbent who was born in, and still lives in Lincolnshire, and who provided some excellent sound clips for the Fens Heritage could be approached.



used to teach in Scunthorpe, and has relatives in the area). A potential supporter for the project could be Professor Mike Pearson of Aberystwyth University, who has already included content from the *Legends* within his inspiring *Carrlands* project which created a lasting legacy of audio recordings to accompany four walks in the Carrs. Mike has extensive experience of producing innovative performing arts projects.

To conclude, I would like to state that I have found this whole investigation to be more than engrossing, and despite the warnings of others who have completed their doctoral research, I have not found that my enthusiasm for the subject matter has diminished. I have learnt so much on this journey of discovery, not just about Balfour, the folklore and dialect of north Lincolnshire, the impact of education and religion on folklore and dialect, the effect of opium on health and the imagination, the nature and practise of storytelling etc., but also gained insights into my own abilities and steadfastness. I am grateful for having this opportunity to produce this piece of work and hope that you, the reader, gain as much pleasure from its contents as I did in the writing and research for it.

## 6 BIBLIOGRAPHY

### 6.1 Books

Aarne, A. and Thompson, S. (1961) *The types of the Folktale: A Classification and Bibliography*. 2nd edn. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica. Folklore Fellows Communications, 184.

Ackerman, R. (1990) *J. G. Frazer: His Life and Work*. Worcester: Canto Billings.

Addy, S.O. (1888) *A Glossary of words used in the neighbourhood of Sheffield, including a selection of local names, and some notices of folk-lore, games, and customs*. London: Trübner & Co. English Dialect Society.

Addy, S.O. (1891) *Supplement to the Sheffield Glossary*. London: Trübner & Co. English Dialect Society.

Addy, S.O. (1902) 'The Collection of Folklore', *Folklore*, 13(3), pp. 297-313.

Addy, S.O. (1907) 'Derbyshire Folk-Lore', in Fox, J.C. (ed.) *Memorials of Old Derbyshire*. London: Bemrose & Sons Ltd, pp. 346-370.

Addy, S.O. (1973 reprint of 1895) *Folk Tales and Superstitions*. Wakefield: EP Publishing Ltd.

Aesop (1897) *Aesop's Fables*. London: Bliss, Sands & Co.

Allen, D.O. and Hatfield, G. (2004) *Medicinal Plants in Folk Tradition: An Ethnobotany of Britain and Ireland*. Cambridge: Timber Press.

Allen, I. (1996) *British Railways Atlas, 1947: The Last Days of the Big Four*. Shepperton: Ian Allen Publishing.

Allingham, W. (1877) *Songs, ballads and stories*. London: George Bell and Sons.

Altick, R.D. (1998) *The English Common Reader: a social history of the mass reading public 1800-1900*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

Ambler, R.W. (1979) *Lincolnshire Returns of the Census of Religious Worship 1851*. Lincoln: Lincoln Record Society 72.

Anderson, M. (1990) 'The social implications of demographic change', in Thompson,

F.M.L. (ed.) *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.1-70.

Andrews, W. (ed.) (1892) *Bygone Lincolnshire*. Hull: Brown & Sons.

Andrews, T. (1998) *Dictionary of Nature Myths: Legends of the Earth, Sea and Sky*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Annis, Paul (1978) *The Calvert Folklore Manuscript - Unpublished Paper* University of Leeds.

Apperson, G.L. (1884) 'Tabulations of Folktales', *The Folk-Lore Journal*, 2(5), pp.152-155.

Arnold, R. (1981) *The Farthest Promised Land: English Villagers, New Zealand Immigrants of the 1870s*. Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press.

Ashliman, D.L. (2005) 'Water Spirits Motif 420', in Garry, J. and El Shamy, H. *Archetypes and Motifs in Folklore and Literature: a Handbook*. London: M.E. Sharpe, p. 211.

Ashman, G & Bennett, G (2000) 'Charlotte Sophia Burne: Shropshire Folklorist, First Woman President of the Folklore Society, and First Woman Editor of Folklore. Part 1: A Life and Appreciation', *Folklore*, 111(1), pp.1-21.

Atkinson, J.C. (1891) *Forty Years in a Moorland Parish: Reminiscences and researchers in Danby in Cleveland*. London: Macmillan & Co.

Baker, M. (1974) *Folklore and Customs of Rural England*. Devon: Newton Abbot.

Balfour, M.C. & Lang, A.(1890) 'English and Scotch Fairy Tales', *Folk-Lore*, 1(3), pp.289-312.

Balfour, M.C. (1891) 'Legends of the Cars', *Folklore*, 2(2), pp.145-170, (3), pp.257-283, (4), pp. 401-418.

Balfour, M.C. (1893) "'Bogles" and "Ghosts"', *Folklore*, 4(1), pp.107-108.

Balfour, M.C. (1895) *White Sand: The Story of a Dreamer and his Dream*. London: T Fisher Unwin.

- Balfour, M.C. (1896a) *Maris Stella*. London: Robert Bros.
- Balfour, M.C. (1896b) 'Sub Tegmine Fagi' in *The Yellow Book - An Illustrated Quarterly* (10), pp.199-213.
- Balfour, M.C.B. (1897) *The Fall of the Sparrow: and failure is only God's road to success*. London: Methuen & Co.
- Balfour, M.C. & Balfour, J. (1899) 'Robert Louis Stevenson by Two of His Cousins' *English Illustrated Magazine* May 1899, pp. 121-131.. London: Macmillan.
- Balfour, M.C. (trans) (1900) *Side Lights on the Reign of Terror; being the Memoirs of Mademoiselle des Echerolles*. London: John Lane.
- Balfour, M.C. (1904) 'Examples of Printed Folklore concerning Northumberland, collected by M. C. Balfour, and edited by N. W. Thomas'. London: D Nutt.
- Balfour, M.C. (1895-1900) Various written pieces in *Macmillan Magazine*, Electronic Resource. Accessed at Cambridge University Library March 2012.
- Balfour, M. I. (1906) *Letters from Samoa, 1891-1895; edited and arranged by Marie Clothilde Balfour*. London: Methuen & Co.
- Balfour-Melville, B. (1907) *The History of the Balfours of Pilrig*. Edinburgh: T & A Constable.
- Ballard, L. (1980) 'Ulster Oral Narrative: the stress on Authenticity', *Ulster Folklife*, 26, pp. 35-40.
- Barber, S. (1982) 'Irish Migrant Agricultural Labourers in Nineteenth Century Lincolnshire', *Saothar 8: Journal of Irish Labour History Society*, Dublin, pp. 10-23.
- Baring-Gould, S. (1899) *The vicar of Morwenstow: A life of Robert Stephen Hawker, M.A.* London: Methuen.
- Barnard, H.C. (1961) *A History of English Education from 1760*. London: University of London.
- Barrett, W.H. (1963) *Tales from the Fens*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Barrett, W.H. (1964) *More Tales from the Fens*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Bascom, W.R. (1953) 'Folklore and Anthropology', *The Journal of American*

*Folklore*, 66(262), pp. 283-290.

Bascom, W.R. (1965) 'The Forms of Folklore: Prose Narratives', in Dundes, A. (ed.) (1984) *Sacred Narratives, Readings in the theory of Myth*. London: University of California Press, pp. 5-28.

Bateson, H. (1923) 'Looking over the Left Shoulder', *Folklore*, 34(3), pp. 241-242.

Baughman, E.W. (1966) *Type and Motif-Index of the Folktales of England and North America*. The Hague, Netherlands: Mouton & Co. Indiana University Folklore Series 20.

Bauman, R. (1986) *Story, Performance and event: contextual studies in oral narrative*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bauman, R. (1987) 'Ed Bell, Texas Storyteller: The Framing and Reframing of Life Experience', *The Journal of Folklore Research*, 24(3), pp. 197-221.

Bauman, R. (1992) 'Performance', in Bauman, R. (ed.) *Folklore, Cultural Performances and Popular Entertainments – A Communications-centred Handbook*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.41-49

Bauman, R. and Briggs, C. (1992) *Voices of modernity: language ideologies and the politics of inequality*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Beaglehole, H. (2006) *Lighting the Coast: a history of New Zealand's coastal lighthouse system*. Christchurch, New Zealand: Canterbury University Press.

Beastall, T.W. (1978) *The Agricultural Revolution in Lincolnshire*. Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee.

Belich, J. (1986) *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Ben-Amos, D. (1992) 'Folktale', in Bauman, R. (ed.) *Folklore, Cultural Performances, and Popular Entertainments*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.101-118.

Benjamin, W. (1973) *Illuminations* (1936 essay ed. Arendt, trans. Zohn, H). London: Fontana.

- Bennett, G. (1989a) 'Belief Stories: The Forgotten Genre', *Western Folklore*, 48(4), pp. 289-311.
- Bennett, G. (1989b) "'And I turned round to her and said...": A Preliminary Analysis of Shape and Structure', *Folklore*, 100(2), pp. 167-183.
- Bennett, G. (1994) 'Geologists and Folklorists: Cultural Evolution and "The Science of Folklore"', *Folklore*, 105, pp. 25-37.
- Bennett, G. (1996) 'The Thomsian Heritage in the Folklore Society (London)', *Journal of Folklore Research*, 33(3), pp. 212-220.
- Bennett, G. (1999) *'Alas, Poor Ghost! – Traditions of Belief in Story and Discourse'*. Utah: Utah State University Press.
- Bennett, G (ed) (2010) *Folklore and Legends of Lincolnshire* By Mabel Peacock and Wilhelmine Fowler. Unpublished material, recently collated for the Folklore Society.
- Berridge, V. (1977a) 'Fenland Opium Eating in the Nineteenth Century', *British Journal of Addiction*, 72, pp. 275-284.
- Berridge, V. (1977b) 'Opium and the Historical Perspective', *The Lancet*, (July 9), pp. 78-80.
- Berridge, V. (1979) 'Opium and Oral History', *Oral History*, 7(2), pp. 48-58.
- Berridge, V. (1999) *Opium and the People; Opiate Use and Drug Control Policy in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century England*. London: Free Association Books.
- Bevis, T. (1983) *Mini Stories of the Fens*. March, Cambridgeshire: Westrydale Press.
- Beyer, J. (2011) 'Daisies Rise to Become Oaks: The Politics of Early Folktale Collection in Northern Europe', *Folklore*, 121, pp. 35-54.
- Bidwell & Sons (1917) Particulars of Sale of the Redbourne Estate. June 1917.
- Binnall, P.B.G. (1940) 'A Brownie Legend from Lincolnshire', *Folklore*, 51(3), pp. 219-222.
- Binnall, P.B.G. (1960-1) 'The East Window of Redbourne Church, Lincolnshire', *Journal of Stained Glass*, 13(2), pp. 408-11.
- Black, M.M. (1898) *Robert Louis Stevenson*. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson &

Ferrier.

Black, R. (ed.) (2008) *Gaelic Otherworld : John Gregorson Campbell's Superstitions of the Highlands & Islands of Scotland and Witchcraft & second sight in the Highlands & Islands*. Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd.

Blacker, C. and Davidson, H.E. (2000) '*Women and Tradition: A Neglected Group of Folklorists*'. Carolina: Carolina Academic Press.

Blanchard, E.C. (1917) 'Christmas Candles', *Folklore*, 28(1), pp. 106-107.

Booth, B.A. and Meheew. E. (eds.) (1994) *The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson*. London: Yale University Press.

Booth, M. (1996) *Opium: A History*. London: Simon and Shuster.

Bown, N. (2001) *Fairies in Nineteenth Century Art and Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Boyes, G. (1978) 'Literary Sources and Folklore Studies in the Nineteenth Century: A Re-assessment of Armchair Scholarship', *Lore and Language*, 2(9), pp.26-42.

Boyes, G. (1993) *The Imagined Village: culture, ideology and the English folk revival*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Brabrook, E.W., Gomme, G.L., Gaster, M., Haddon, A.C., Jevons, F.B., Lang, A., Nutt, A. and Burne, C.S. (1901) 'Reviews of The Golden Bough, a Study in Magic and Religion by J.G. Frazer', *Folklore*, 12(2), pp. 219-243.

Brears, C. (1927) *A Short History Of Lincolnshire*. London: A. Brown & Sons Ltd.

Brears, C. (1940) *Lincolnshire in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century compiled from national, county, and parish records*. London and Hull: A. Brown & Sons Ltd.

Brewer, D. (2003) 'The Interpretation of Fairy Tales', in Davidson, H.E. and Chaudhri, A. *Companion to the Fairytale*. Cambridge: D S Brewer, pp.15-38.

Briggs, K.M. (1962) 'A Tentative Essay', *Folklore*, 73 (3), pp.145-148.

Briggs, K.M. (1967) *The Fairies in Tradition and Literature*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Briggs, K.M. (1969a) *A dictionary of British folk legends in the English language*:

*incorporating the F. J. Norton collection. Part A Folk Narrative Volume 1.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Briggs, K.M. (1969b) *A dictionary of British folk legends in the English language: incorporating the F. J. Norton collection. Part B Folk Legends Volume 1.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Briggs, K.M. (1969c) *A dictionary of British folk-tales in the English language: incorporating the F. J. Norton collection. Part A Folk Narrative Volume 2.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Briggs, K.M. (1972) 'Possible Mythological Motifs in English Folktales', *Folklore*, 83(4), pp.265-271.

Briggs, K.M. (1976) *A Dictionary of Fairies.* London: Allen Lane.

Briggs, K.M. (2002) *British Folk-Tales and Legends – A Sampler.* 2nd edn. London: Routledge Classics.

Briggs, K.M. & Tongue, R.L.(1965) *Folktales of England.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Brightfield, M.F. (1961) 'The Medical Profession in Early Victorian England, as Depicted in the Novels of the Period', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 35(3), pp.238-256.

Bringhurst, R. (1999) *A story as sharp as a knife: the classical Haida myhtellers and their world.* Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre.

Brogden, J. E. (1866) *Provincial Words and Expressions current in Lincolnshire.* London: R. Hardwicke.

Brooking, T. (1985) 'Tam McCanny and Kitty Clydeside – The Scots in New Zealand', in Cage, R.A. (ed.) *The Scots abroad: Labour, Capital, Enterprise, 1750-1914.* London: Croom Helm, p. 156-190.

Brooks, C. & Saint, A.(1995) *The Victorian Church: Architecture and Society.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Brooks, J. (1994) *The Good Ghost Guide.* Norwich: Jarrold.



- Brown, J. (2005) *Farming in Lincolnshire 1850-1945*. Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee.
- Brown, T. (1986) 'Obituary: Ethel H Rudkin, 1893-1985', *Folklore*, 97(2), pp.222-223.
- Burne, C. S. (1890) 'The Collection of English Folk-Lore.' *Folk-Lore* 1, pp.313-30.
- Burne, C.S. (1909) 'Reminiscences of Lancashire and Cheshire when George was King', *Folklore*, 20(2), pp. 203-207.
- Burne, C.S. (1910) 'Burial of Amputated Limbs', *Folklore*, 21(1), p. 105.
- Burne, C.S. (ed.) (1914) *The Handbook of Folklore*. London: Sidgwick and Jackson.
- Burnett, J. (1968) *Plenty and Want - A Social History of Food in England from 1815 to the present day*. London: Pelican.
- Burstein, S.R. (1957) 'George Laurence Gomme and the Science of Folklore', *Folklore*, 68(2), pp. 321-338.
- Butler, G. (1990) *Saying isn't believing: conversation, narrative and the discourse of belief in a French-Newfoundland community*. Newfoundland: University of Newfoundland.
- Campbell, J. F. (New Edition, 1890) *Popular Tales of the West Highlands: Orally Collected*, 1. London: Alexander Gardner.
- Campion, E. (1976) *Lincolnshire Dialects*. Lincoln: Richard Kay.
- Carey, R. (2002) *The Drowned Valley in Aspect of North Lincolnshire*. Barnsley, Yorkshire: Wharncliffe Books.
- Carlyle, T (1840) *Chartism*. London: James Fraser.
- Cashford, J. (2003) *The Moon – Myths and Image*. New York: Four Walls Eight Windows.
- Charles, J. (1956) 'Blue Books', *Medical History*, 1, pp. 1-16.
- Child Employment Commission (1867) *First Report of the Commission on the*

*Employment of Children, Young Persons, and Women in Agriculture* London: HMSO.

Child F. J. (1882) *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, 1. Cambridge: The Riverside Press.

Christiansen, R.T. (1958) *The Migratory Legends: A Proposed list of types with a systematic catalogue of Norwegian variants*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia.

Clark, C. (1992) 'Onomastics', in Blake, N. (ed.) *The Cambridge History of the English Language, Vol II, 1066-1476*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 452-489.

Clayton, P. and Rowbotham, J. (2008a) 'An unsuitable and degraded diet? Part one: public health lessons from the mid-Victorian working class diet', *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 101, pp. 282-299.

Clayton, P. and Rowbotham, J. (2008b) 'An unsuitable and degraded diet? Part two: realities of the mid-Victorian diet', *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 101, pp. 350-357.

Clayton, P. and Rowbotham, J. (2009) 'How the Mid-Victorians Worked, Ate and Died', *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 6, pp. 1235-1253.

Cockayne, T.O. (1961 facsimile of 1864-1866) *Leechdoms, wortcunning and starcraft of early England: being a collection of documents... illustrating the history of science in this country before the Norman conquest*. Rev. edn. with introduction by C. Singer, London: Longman, Roberts and Green.

Codd, D. (2007) *Mysterious Lincolnshire*. Derby: Breedon Books.

Codd, D. (2010) *Mysterious Cambridgeshire*. Derby: Derby Books.

Coleman, B.I. (1980) *The Church of England in Mid-Nineteenth Century – A Social Geography*. London: The Historical Association.

Coleman, P. (2010) 'History and Legends of St. Botolph's Church', *Lincolnshire Poacher*, (Summer), pp. 12-13.

Coles, B. and Coles, J. (1989) *'Peoples of the Wetlands: Bogs, Bodies and Lake Dwellers'*. New York: Thames & Hudson.

Collins, E.J.T. (1975) 'Dietary Change and Cereal Consumption in Britain in the Nineteenth Century', *Agricultural History Review*, 23(2), pp. 97–115.

Colls, R. (1976) "'Oh Happy English Children!': Coal, Class and Education in the North-East", *Past and Present*, 73, pp. 75-99.

Colwell, E. (1989) *Storytelling*. London: Thimble Press.

Cooper, T. (1971 facsimile of 1897) *The life of Thomas Cooper*. Leicester University Press.

Crane, B.S. (1989) *The images and realities of opium use in the later nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries with special reference to the working-class of Lancashire and Cheshire*. Canterbury: University of Kent.

Cross, E. (1999 reprint of 1942) *The Tailor and Ansty*. Dublin: Mercier Press.

Crossing, W. (1890) *Tales of the Dartmoor Pixies*. London: Hood.

Crossley-Holland, K. (1982) *The Dead Moon and other tales from East Anglia and the Fen Country*. London: Andre Deutsch.

Crossley-Holland, K. (1992) *Long Tom and the Dead Hand: and more tales from East Anglia and the Fen Country*. London: Andre Deutsch.

Crossley-Holland, K. (1993) *The Penguin Book of Norse Myths: Gods of the Vikings*. London: Penguin Books.

Crossley Holland, K. (1997) *The Old Stories - Folk Tales from East Anglia and the Fen Country*. Cambridge: Colt Books.

Cunningham, H. (1990) 'Leisure and Culture', in Thompson, F.M.L., *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.279-340.

Dalton, B. J. (1965) 'A New Look at the Maori Wars of the Sixties', *Australian Historical Studies* 1966, 12(46), pp. 230-247.

Dalton, B. J. (1967) *War and Politics in New Zealand 1855-1870*. Sydney: Sydney University Press.

- Darnton, R. (1984) *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History*. London: Allan Lane.
- Dasent, G.W. (1859) *Popular Tales from the Norse*. London: Edmonston & Douglas.
- Davey, B. J. (1994) *Rural Crime in the Eighteenth Century: North Lincolnshire 1740-1780*. Hull: University of Hull Press.
- Davidson, H.E. (1963) 'Folklore and Man's Past', *Folklore*, 74(4), pp. 527-544.
- Davidson, H.E. (1970) 'Scandinavian Folklore in Britain', The Anglo-American Folklore Conference Aug. 1, 1970 *Journal of the Folklore Institute*, 7(2/3), pp. 177-186
- Davidson, H.E. (1989) *Myths and symbols in Pagan Europe: Early Scandinavian and Celtic religions*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Davidson, H.E. (1996) Katherine Briggs: Story-Teller. Cambridge: Lutterworth Press.
- Davidson, H.E. and Newall, V. (1981) 'Katherine Briggs...1898-1980', *Folklore*, 92(1), pp.110-112.
- Davies, O. (1999) *Witchcraft, Magic and Culture 1736-1951*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Dégh, L. (1991) 'What Did the Grimm Brothers Give to and Take from the Folk?', McGlathery, J.M. (1991) *The Brothers Grimm and Folktale*. University of Illinois Press: Urbana and Chicago.
- Dégh, L. (2001) *Legend and Belief: dialectics of a folklore genre*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- Digby, A. (1981) 'Social Institutions', in Roberts, E. (ed.) (2000) *The Agrarian History of England and Wales Vol VII 1850-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.1466-1486.
- Digby, A. (1994) *Making a Medical Living: Doctors and Patients in the English Market for Medicine, 1720-1911*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Digby, A. (1999) *The Evolution of British General Practice 1850-1948*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Doniger, W. (1998) *The Implied Spider – Politics and Theology in Myth*. New York:

Columbia University Press.

Dorson, R.M. (1952) 'Andrew Lang's Folklore Interests As Revealed in "At the Sign of the Ship"', *Western Folklore*, 11(1), pp. 1-19.

Dorson, R.M. (1965) 'Folklore and Folklife Studies in Great Britain and Ireland: Introduction,' *Journal of the Folklore Institute*(2) 3, pp. 239-243.

Dorson, R.M. (ed.) (1968a) *Peasant Customs and Savage Myths- Selections from The British Folklorists – Vol. 1*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Dorson, R.M. (ed.) (1968b) *Peasant Customs and Savage Myths- Selections from The British Folklorists – Vol. 2*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Dorson, R.M. (1973) 'Folklore in the Modern World' in Dorson, R M (1976) *Folklore and Fakelore : Essays toward a Discipline of Folk Studies*. Harvard University Press.

Dorson, R.M. (1976) '*Folklore and Fakelore*' in Harvard University Press.

Douglas, D. (1966) *Horrors!*. New York: Macmillan.

Duffy, E. (1992) *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400 – c.1580*. London: Yale University Press.

Dundes, A. (1980) *Interpreting Folklore*'. Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Dundes, A. (1990) *Essays in Folklore Theory and Method*. Madras: Cre-A.

Dundes, A. (1999) *International folkloristics : classic contributions by the founders of folklore*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield.

Eddowes, J. (1854) *The Agricultural Labourer as he really is; or, Village morals in 1854*. Driffield.

Ekirch, A.R. (2005) *At Days Close: A History of Nighttime*. London: Weidenfield & Nicholson.

Elder, E. (1989) 'Edward Peacock and his Family: an Introduction to the Peacocks, Collectors of North Lincolnshire Dialect from 1850-1920', in Sturman, C. (ed.) (1992) *Some Historians of Lincolnshire*. Lincoln: Society of Lincolnshire History and Archaeology, pp. 70-81.

Elder, E. (1993) 'The Peacocks of North-West Lincolnshire: Collectors and Recorders of Lincolnshire Dialect from c.1850 to 1920', *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, 28.

Elder, E. (ed.) (1997) *The Peacock Lincolnshire Word Books 1884-1920*. Scunthorpe: Scunthorpe Museum Society.

Ella, C. (2009) 'The Body in the Peat', *Lincolnshire Poacher*, 10(3).

Ella, C. (2010) 'Tales of the Riverbank', *Lincolnshire Poacher*, (Autumn), pp. 49-51.

Ettlinger, E. (1943) 'Documents of British Superstition in Oxford', *Folklore*, 54(1), pp. 227-249.

Evans-Wentz, W.J. (1911) *The Fairy-Faith in Celtic Countries*. Facsimile - Forgotten Books 2007.

Fenwick, P. and Fenwick, E. (1997) *The Truth in the Light: An Investigation of Over 300 Near-Death Experiences*. New York: Berkley Books.

Field, F.N. (1984) 'A Mud Cottage from Withern with Stain', in Field, N. and White, A. (eds.) *A prospect of Lincolnshire - being collected articles on the history and traditions of Lincolnshire in honour of Ethel H Rudkin*. Gainsborough: G W Belton, pp.92-95.

Filan, K. (2011) *The Power of the Poppy*. Rochester, Vermont: Park Street Press.

Fine, E.C. (1984) *The Folklore Text: From Performance to Print*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Finkelstein, D. (2003) "'Jack's as good as his master" – Scots and Print Culture in New Zealand 1860-1900', *Book History*, 6, pp.95-107.

Fox, A & Woolf, D (2002) *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain, 1500-1850*. Manchester: Manchester University Press

Frazer, J.G. (1889) 'Notes on Harvest Customs', *The Folk-Lore Journal*, 7(1), (1889), pp. 47-53.

Frazer, J.G. (1921) *Appollodorus: The Library*. London: W Heinemann.

Frazer, J.G. (1922) *The Golden Bough; A Study in Magic and Religion*. Abridged reprint (2008) by Forgotten Books.

Frazer, W.M. (1950) *A History of English Public Health 1834-1939*. London; Bailliere, Tindall & Co.

Freeman, M. (2001) 'The Agricultural Labourer and the "Hodge" Stereotype, c. 1850-1914.', *Agricultural History Review*, 49, pp. 172-86.

Freeman, M. (2003) *Social Investigation and Rural England 1870-1914*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.

Freeman, M. (2005) 'Folklore collection and social investigation in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century England', *Folklore*, 116(1), pp. 51-65.

Garner, A. (1969) *The Hamish Hamilton Book of Goblins*. London: Hamish Hamilton.

Geddes, P. (1910) 'The Late Mr. J. S. Stuart Glennie', *The Sociological Review*, a3(4), pp. 317-323.

Gee, H.L. (1953) *Folk Tales of Yorkshire*. London: Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd.

Georges, R.A. (1969a) 'Towards an Understanding of Storytelling Events', *The Journal of American Folklore*, 94, pp. 313-328.

Georges, R.A. (1969b) The General Concept of Legend: Some Assumptions to be Reexamined and Reassessed in Hand, W (1969) American Folk Legend Symposium.

Gillard, M. (1995), *Storyteller, storyteacher : Discovering the power of storytelling for teaching and living*. Portland, ME., USA: Stenhouse Publishers.

Gillington, A.E. (1913) *Old Dorset Singing Games - With a few from Wilts and New Forest*. London: J Curwen & Sons Ltd.

Girardot, N.J. (1977) 'Initiation and Meaning in the Tale of Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs', *The Journal of American Folklore*, 90(357), pp. 274-300.

Glassie, H. (1982) *Passing the Time: Folklore and History of an Ulster Community*. Dublin: O'Brien Press.

Golby, J.M. & Purdue, A.W. (1999) *The Civilisation of the Crowd*. Stroud: Sutton

Publishing.

Gomme, A.B. (1884) *The traditional games of England, Scotland and Ireland : with tunes, singing rhymes and methods of playing according to the variants extant and recorded in different parts of the kingdom, Volume 2*. London: David Nutt & Co.

Gomme, G.L. (1883a) *Folklore Relics of Early Village Life*. London: E Stock.

Gomme, G.L. (ed.) (1883b) *Manners and Customs*. London: The Gentleman's Magazine Library.

Gomme, G.L. (ed.) (1884) *Popular Superstitions*. London: The Gentleman's Magazine Library.

Gomme, G.L. (1890) *The Handbook of Folklore*. London: David Nutt & Co.

Gomme, G.L. (1892) *Ethnology in Folklore*. London: Kegan Paul.

Gomme, G.L. (1908) *Folklore as an Historical Science*. London: Methuen.

Good, J. (1973) *Glossary of words, phrases, place names, superstitions, & current in East Lincolnshire*. Lincs: Pulford.

Goody, J. (1992) 'Oral Culture', in Bauman, R. (ed.) *Folklore, Cultural Performances, and Popular Entertainments – A Communications-centred Handbook*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.12-20.

Gracie, K. (2002) 'The Founding Legend of Grimsby', in Walton, J (ed.) *Aspects of North Lincolnshire*. Barnsley, Yorkshire: Wharncliffe Books, pp.45-54.

Gray, A. (1990) *Tales of Old Lincolnshire*. Newbury, Berks: Countryside Books - County Tales series.

Gray, A. and Moffat, W. (1985) *A History of Scotland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Green, R.L. (1962) 'Shakespeare and the Fairies', *Folklore*, 73(2), pp. 89-103.

Green, T.A. (1992) 'Riddle', in Bauman, R. (ed.) *Folklore, Cultural Performances, and Popular Entertainments – A Communications-centred Handbook*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.134-138.

Gregg, P. (1981) *King Charles I*. London: Dent.



Greig, R. (2004) *Joseph Taylor from Lincolnshire: a biography of a singer in Folk Song Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation*. Occasional Publications (3). The Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen , Aberdeen, pp. 386-392

Grendon, F. (1909) 'The Anglo-Saxon Charms' *The Journal of American Folklore*, 22(84), pp. 105-237.

Grice, F. (1951) *Folk Tales of the North Country: Drawn from Northumberland and Durham*. London & Edinburgh: Nelson & Sons.

Grigg, G.R. (2005) "'Nurseries of Ignorance?'" Private adventure and dame schools for the working classes in nineteenth century Wales', *History of Education*, 34(3), pp. 243-262.

Grinsell, L.V. (1976) *Folklore of Prehistoric sites in Britain*. Newton Abbot: David & Charles.

Gummere, F.B. (1892) *Germanic Origins: A Study In Primitive Culture*. New York: C Scribner & Sons.

Gunn, C. B. (2002 reprint of 1935) *Leaves from the Life of a Country Doctor*. Birlinn: Edinburgh.

Gunnell, T. (2010) 'Are Folklorists Studying the Tales of the Folk?', *Folklore*, 122(1), pp. 35-54.

Gutch, E. (1901) *Examples of Printed Folk-Lore Concerning The North Riding of Yorkshire, York and the Ainsty*. London: David Nutt.

Gutch, E. and Peacock, M. (1908) *Examples of Printed Folk-Lore Concerning Lincolnshire*, County Folklore 5. London: David Nutt.

Gutch, E. (1912) *Examples of Printed Folklore concerning the East Riding of Yorkshire*. County Folklore 6. London: David Nutt.

Guthrie, D. (1961) 'Scottish Influence on the Evolution of British Medicine', in Poynter, F.N.L. (ed.) *The Evolution of Medical Practice in Britain*. London: Pitman.

Haase, D. (2008) *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Folktales and Fairy Tales: A-F*.

Westport, Connecticut, USA: Greenwood Press.

Haggarty, B. (1995) *Seek out the Voice of the Critic*. Society for Storytelling.

Haggarty (2003) *Memories and Breath – Professional Storytelling in England and Wales*. CRDTS

Halpert, H. (1969) Definition and Variation in Folk-Legend in Hand, W (1969) American Folk Legend Symposium.

Halpert, H. and Widdowson, J. (1996) *Folktales of Newfoundland*. 2 volumes. New York and London: Garland Publishing.

Hand, W.D. (1977) 'Will-o'-the-Wisps, Jack-o'-Lanterns and Their Congeners: A Consideration of the Fiery and Luminous Creatures of Lower Mythology', *Fabula*, 18(3/4).pp. 226-233.

Hardy, J.H.(eds) (1892) *The Denham tracts : a collection of folklore by Michael Aislabie Denham, and reprinted from the original tracts and pamphlets printed by Mr. Denham between 1846 and 1859*. London: David Nutt.

Harris, J M (2008) *Folklore and the fantastic in nineteenth-century British fiction*: Ashgate Publishing Ltd

Harte, J. (2004) *Explore Fairy Traditions*. Loughborough: Explore Books.

Harte, J. (1998) *Alternative approaches to Folklore: A bibliography 1969-1996*. Loughborough: Heart of Albion Press.[www.hoap.co.uk/aatf1.rtf](http://www.hoap.co.uk/aatf1.rtf) accessed July 2011.

Hartland, E.S. (1890) *English fairy and other folk tale*. London: Walter Scott.

Hartland, E. (1891) *The Science of fairy tales – and inquiry into fairy mythology*. London: Walter Scott.

Hays, M.B. (1978) 'Memories of My Father, Joseph Jacobs', Norton, E.S. (ed.) *Folk Literature of the British Isles*. London: Scarecrow Press, pp.86-92.

Hayter, A. (1968) *Opium and the Romantic Imagination*. London: Faber.

Hayter, A. (1988) *Opium and the Romantic Imagination*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. Wellingborough: Crucible.

Hazlitt, W.C. (1905) *Faiths and Folklore 1*. London: Reeves & Turner.

- Heanley, R.M. (1891) 'Marsh Folk-lore', *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries*, 2, p. 134, p. 214.
- Heanley, R.M. (1898) 'Lincolnshire Superstitions', *Folklore*, 9(2), pp. 186-187.
- Heanley, R.M. (1903) 'The Vikings - Traces of their folklore in Marshland', *The Saga Book of the Viking Club*, 3(1), pp.35-62.
- Henderson, W. (1866) *Notes on the folk lore of the northern counties of England and the Borders*. London : Longmans, Green and Co.
- Heywood, S. (1998), *The New Storytelling: A history of the storytelling movement in England and Wales*. Devon: Daylight Press.
- Heywood, S. (2004) Informant Disavowal and the Interpretation of Storytelling Revival in *Folklore* 115, pp. 45-63.
- Hickson, W.E. (1984 reprint of 1836) *The Singing Master*. Kilkenny, Ireland: Boethius Press.
- Hieatt, A.K and Hieatt, C. (eds.) (1971) *Chaucer – Canterbury Tales*. U.S.A.:Bantam Dual Language Book.
- Hill, F. (1836) *National education: its present state and prospects*. London: Charles Knight.
- Hissey, J.J. (1898) *Over Fen and Wold*. London: Macmillan & Co.
- Holbek, B. (1987) *Interpretation of fairy tales : Danish folklore in a European perspective*. Helsinki : Suomalainen Tiedekatemia.
- Holden, J. (2007) *Lots of Company: Night after Day after Night*. UK: Goldman Chen.
- Hole, J. (1969 – reprint of 1880) 'Light, more light!': on the present state of education amongst the working class of Leeds. London: Woburn Press.
- Honko, L. (1964) 'Memorates and the Study of Folk Beliefs', *Journal of the Folklore Institute*, 1(1/2), pp. 5-19.
- Horn, D. (1987) 'Tiddy Mun's Curse and the Ecological Consequences of Land Reclamation', *Folklore*, 98 (1), pp. 11-15.
- Howat, P. (1992) *Ghosts & Legends of Lincolnshire & The Fen Country*. Berkshire:

Countryside Books.

Huggett, F. (1972) *A day in the life of a Victorian farm worker*. London: George, Allen & Unwin.

Hughes, M (2003) 'Talking the Talk' in *Let's Talk Magazine*. October 2003. Archant Publishers.

Hullah, J. (1875) *Time and Tune in The Elementary School: A New Method of Teaching Vocal Music*. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

Humphrys, G. (2008) 'Will Any Lincolnshire Ghosts Appear For Christmas?', In *Lincolnshire Poacher*. Winter 2008

Hunter, H. J. (1864) *Report on the Excessive Mortality of Infants in some Rural Districts of England*. London: HMSO.

Hutchison, W.M. (1882?) *Song-Land – A Series of Ditties for Small Folks*. London: George Routledge & Sons.

Ives, E.D. (1959) 'Larry Gorman and the Cante Fable', *The New England Quarterly*, 32(2), pp. 226-237.

Jacobs, J. (1893) 'The Folk', *Folklore*, 4(2), pp. 233-238.

Jacobs, J. (1894a) *More English Fairy Tales*. London: David Nutt.

Jacobs, J. (1894b) 'The Problem of Diffusion: Rejoinders', *Folklore*, 5, pp.129-149.

Jacobs, J. (1898) *English Fairy Tales*. 3rd edn. London: David Nutt.

James, M. (2002) *What can investment in Narrative contribute to Museum Education?: A report on the role of narrative (and stories) in museums*. M.A. Report, Museums and Galleries in Education, Institute of Education, Museum of London.

Jason, H. (1971) 'Concerning the "Historical" and the "Local" Legends and Their Relatives', *The Journal of American Folklore*, 84(331), pp. 134-144.

Jefferies, R. (1879) *Wild Life in a Southern County*. London: Smith, Elder and Co.

- Jefferies, R. (1894) *Round about a Great Estate*. London: Smith, Elder & Co.
- Jessopp, A (1887) *Arcady: For Better for Worse*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.
- Johnson, R. (1970) 'Educational Policy and Social Control in Early Victorian England', *Past and Present*, 49(November), pp. 96-119.
- Johnson, W. (1937) 'Marshland Notions 60 years ago', *Lincolnshire Magazine*, 3 (January/February), p. 84.
- Jones, E.L. (1964) 'The Agricultural Labour Market in England, 1793-1872', *The Economic History Review*, 17, pp. 322-338.
- Jones, W.H. (1889) 'Lincolnshire Folk-Lore', *Lincolnshire Notes & Queries*, 1, pp. 166-170.
- Jones, W.H. (1890) 'Wicken', *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries*, 2(2), p. 43.
- Jones, W.H. (1891) 'New Years Morning', 'Lincolnshire Notes and Queries', 2(5), p. 139
- Kamenetsky, C. (1992) *The Brothers Grimm and their critics: folktales and the quest for meaning*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press.
- Kardiner, A. and Preble, E. (1962) *They studied Man*. London: Secker & Warburg.
- Kay-Shuttleworth, J. (1973 reprint of 1862) *Four periods of Public Education as reviewed in 1832, 1839, 1846, 1846*. Brighton: Harvester Press.
- Kear, K. (2000) *Flower Wisdom: The definitive guidebook to the myth, folklore and healing power of flowers*. London: Thorsons.
- Keightley, T. (1870) 'The Fairy Mythology' Reprinted 2007 by Forgotten Books.
- Kerven, R. (2008) *English Fairy Tales and Legends*. London: National Trust Books.
- Kidson, F. and Neal, M. (2011 reprint of 1915) *English Folk-Song and Dance* Cambridge University Press. p18-19
- Kirby, D. (2005) *Marvels, Magic and Witchcraft in the North Riding of Yorkshire: David Naitby's Bedale Treasury*. Snape, Yorkshire: Summerfield Press.

Kitchen, F. (1940) *Brother to the Ox – The Autobiography of a Farm Labourer*. London: J.M Dent.

Kittredge, G.L. (1929) *Witchcraft in New and Old England*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Knappert, J. (1995) *An Encyclopedia of Myth and Legend: Pacific Mythology*. London: Diamond Books.

Kolve, V.A. (2007) 'Nature, Youth and Nowell's Flood' in Patterson, L (2007) *Geoffrey Chaucer's The Canterbury tales: a casebook*. Oxford University Press.

Lambeth, M. (1974) *Strawcraft: More Golden Dollies*. London: John Baker.

Lang, A. (1873) 'Mythology and Fairy Tales', *Fortnightly Review*, 19 (May), pp. 618-631.

Lang, A. (1885) *Custom and Myth*. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

Laqueur, T.W. (1976) 'Working-Class Demand and the Growth of English Elementary Education, 1750-1850', in Stone, L. (1977) *Schooling and Society*. London: Johns Hopkins University Press. pp.192-305.

Lawson, J. (1887) *Letters to the young on progress in Pudsey during the last sixty years*. Yorkshire: J.W Birdsall.

Leahy, K. (2010) *The Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Lindsey*. Gloucestershire: The History Press.

Lenihan, E.& Green, C. (2003) *Meeting the Other Crowd: The Fairy Stories of Hidden Ireland*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan Ltd.

Lindley, K. (1982) *Fenland Riots and the English Revolution*. London: Heinemann.

Livingston, S. (1978) *A Penny A Boy: Norfolk children in work in Victorian days*. Ipswich: Boydell Press.

Lloyd, A.L. (1967) *Folksong in England*. London: Lawrence & Wishart.

Lowerison, H. (1909) 'Scraps of English Folklore II: Durham County', *Folklore*, 20, p. 217.

Lumpkin, B.G. (1968) "'Mr. Fox" (Baughman Type 955C): A Cante Fable"', *The Journal of American Folklore*, 81(319), pp. 68-70.

Lupton, H. (1989) *Tales of the Fens*. Audio tape

Lykiardopoulous, A. (1981) 'The Evil Eye: Towards an Exhaustive Study', *Folklore*, 92(2), pp. 221-230.

Lyman, T. (2004 -2) 'Redbourne conservation area - supplementary planning guidance' North Lincolnshire Council [Redbourne folder on PC]

Lyman, T. (2004-1) 'Redbourne Conservation Appraisal' North Lincolnshire Council [Redbourne folder on PC]

Lysaght, P. (1991) 'Fairyllore from the Midlands of Ireland', in Narvaez, P. (ed.) *The Good People: New Fairyllore Essays*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, pp. 22-46.

Mabey, R. (1998) *Flora Britannica book of Spring Flowers*. London: Chatto & Windus.

Macdonald, M.R. (2005) *Earth care: world folk tales to talk about*. Arkansas: August House.

MacGregor, A. (1901) *Highland Superstitions* Inverness: A & W Mackenzie.

Macht, D.I. & Gessford, N.L.(1938) 'The Unfortunate drug experiences of Dante Gabriel Rossetti', *Bulletin of the Institute for the History of Medicine*, 6, pp.34-61.

Malinowski, B. (1926) *Myth in Primitive Psychology*. London: Norton.

Mannhardt, W. (1999) 'Request', in Dundes, A. (ed.) *International folkloristics: classic contributions by the founders of folklore*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 15-24.

Marlowe, C. (1926) *Legends of the Fenland People*. London: Cecil Palmer.

Mayhall, J. (1866) *The Annals of Yorkshire: from the earliest period to the present time*. Leeds: J. Johnson.

McConaghey, R.M.S. (1961) 'The History of Rural Medical Practice', in Poynter,

F.N.L. (ed.) *The Evolution of Medical Practice in Britain*. London: Pitman, pp.131-133.

McLeod, H. (1997) *Religion and the People of Western Europe 1789-1989*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Melville, H. (1905) *Omoo: A Real Romance of the South Seas*, Ed. by W Clark Russell, Appendix by Marie Clothilde Balfour. London: George Routledge & Sons.

Menefee, S.P. (1980) 'A Cake in the Furrow', *Folklore*, 91(2), pp. 173-192.

Menefee, S.P. (1985) 'Circling as an entrance to the Otherworld', *Folklore*, 96(1), pp. 3-20.

Meredith, D. (2002) 'Hazards in the Bog – Real and Imagined', *The Geographical Review*, 92(3), pp. 319-332.

Michaelis-Jena, R. (1971) 'Oral Tradition and the Brothers Grimm', *Folklore*, 82(4), pp. 265-275.

Monaghan, P. (2003) 'Tiddy Mun is Gone', *Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment*, 10(2), p. 236.

Montenyohl, E.L. (1988) 'Andrew Lang's Contributions to English Folk Narrative Scholarship: A Re-evaluation', *Western Folklore*, 47(4), pp. 269-284.

Montenyohl, E.L. (1987) 'Andrew Lang's Training in Folklore', *Folklore*, 98(2), pp. 180-182.

Moule, H. (1868) *Our Home Heathen: How Can the Church of England Get at Them?* London: William Hunt and Co.

Müller, M. (1882) *The Academy* Volume 21 March 18, p. 193.

Newman, L.F. (1945a) 'Some Notes on the Folklore of Cambridgeshire and the Eastern Counties', *Folklore*, 56(3), pp. 287-293.

Newman, L.F. (1946) 'Some Notes on the History and Practice of Witchcraft in the Eastern Counties', *Folklore*, 57(1), pp. 12-33.

Newman, L.F. and Wilson, E.M. (1952) 'Folklore Survivals in the Southern "Lake Counties" and in Essex: A Comparison and Contrast', *Folklore*, 63(12), pp. 91-104.



Nicholls, A. (2000) 'Fenland Ague in the Nineteenth Century', *Medical History*, 44, pp. 513-530.

Novak, S.J. (1973) 'Professionalism and Bureaucracy: English Doctors and the Victorian Public Health Administration', *The Journal of Social History*, 6(4), pp. 440-462.

Nutt, A. and Gomme, G.L. (1884) 'Folk-Lore Terminology', *The Folk-Lore Journal*, 2(10), pp. 311-316.

Obelkevich, J. (1976) *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey 1825-1875*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Oddy, D. (1970) 'Working-Class Diets in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain', *The Economic History Review* 2<sup>nd</sup> Series, 23(2), pp. 314-323.

Oddy, D. (1990) 'Food, Drink and Nutrition', *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Oliver, G. (1832) 'Old Christmas Custom and Popular Superstitions of Lincolnshire', in Gomme, G. L. (ed.) (1883) *Manners and Customs*. London: Gentleman's Magazine Library.

Olney, R.J. (1979) *Rural society and county government in nineteenth-century Lincolnshire*. Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee.

Olrik, A. (1965) 'Epic Laws of folk narrative', in Dundes, A. *The Study of Folklore*. Berkeley: University of California, pp.129-141.

Olsan, L. (1999) 'The Inscription of Charms in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts', *Oral Tradition*, 14(2), pp. 401-419.

O' Neill, S. (2012) *Folklore of Lincolnshire*. Gloucestershire: The History Press.

Ong, W. (2002 reprint of 1982) *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*. London: Routledge.

Opie, I. and Opie, P. (1966) *The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes*. London: Oxford University Press.

Opie, I. and Opie, P. (1984) *Children's Games in Street and Playground*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Opie, I. and Tatum, M. (eds.) (1989) *A Dictionary of Superstitions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

O'Suilleabhain, S. (1942) *A Handbook of Irish Folklore*. Ireland: Folklore of Ireland Society.

Oxley, J.E. (1941) 'Lincolnshire Dialect of the 17th century', in Oxley, *The Lindsey Dialect*. Leeds: University of Leeds.

Palmenfelt, U. (1993) On the Understanding of Folk Legends in Chesnutt, Michael (1993) *Telling Reality: Folklore Studies in Memory of Bengt Holbek*. Copenhagen & Turku.

Parker, A. (1913) 'Oxfordshire Village Folklore (1840-1900)', *Folklore*, 24(1), pp. 74-91.

Parry, N. (1976) *The Rise of the Medical Profession: A Study in Collective Social Mobility*. London: Croom & Helm.

Patterson, S. (1985) 'Folk Cures' in Arthur, J. (ed.) *Medicine in Wisbech and the Fens 1700-1920*. Wisbech: Seagull Enterprises, pp.21-34.

Peacock, E. (1877) (1889) *A Glossary of Words used in the Wapentakes of Manley and Corringham, Lincolnshire*. London: English Dialect Society: Trubner.

Peacock, M. (1886) *Tales and Rhymes in the Lindsey Folk-Speech*. Brigg, Lincs: G Jackson & Son.

Peacock, M. (1889) *Taaes fra Linkisheere*. Brigg, Lincs: G Jackson & Son.

Peacock, M. (1897) 'Omens of Death', *Folklore*, 8(4). pp.377-378.

Peacock, M. (1901) 'The Folklore of Lincolnshire', *Folklore*, 12(2), pp. 161-180.

Peacock, M. (1908) 'Amulets used in Lincolnshire', *Folklore*, 19, pp.87-88.

Peacock, M. (1917) 'Notes on Lincolnshire Folklore', *Folklore*, 28 (3), pp.325-327.

Peacock, M.G.W. (1891a) 'Notes on Professor J. Rhys's Manx Folk-Lore and Superstitions', *Folklore*, 2(4), pp. 509-512.

Peacock, M.G.W. (1891b) correspondence, *Lincolnshire notes and queries*, 2(6), p. 184.

Peacock, M.G.W. (1891c) 'Fenland Superstitions' in Saunders, W.H. (ed.) (1891) *Fenland notes and queries, A quarterly antiquarian journal for the fenland, in the counties of Huntingdon, Cambridge, Lincoln, Northampton, Norfolk, and Suffolk*, (1). Peterborough: G.C. Caster. p114.

Pearson, M. (2006) *In Comes I: Performance, Memory and Landscape*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press.

Peck, W. (1815) *A topographical account of the Isle of Axholme being the west division of the Wapentake of Manley, in the County of Lincoln*. 1. London: Thomas and Hunsley.

Pellowski, A. (1977) *The World of Storytelling*. New York: R.R. Bowker & Co.

Penny, J. A. (1915) *Folklore Round Horncastle*. Horncastle: W.K. Morton.

Penny, J. A. (1922) *More Folklore Round Horncastle*. Horncastle: W.K. Morton.

Perkins, J. A. (1975) 'Tenure, Tenant Right, and Agricultural Progress in Lindsey, 1780-1850', *The Agricultural History Review*, 23 (1), pp.1-22.

Perkins, J. A. (1977) *Sheep farming in eighteenth and nineteenth century Lincolnshire*. Lincoln: The Society for Lincolnshire History and Archaeology.

Philip, N. (1992) *The Penguin Book of English Folk Tales*. London: Penguin.

Philip, N. (1993) *Victorian Village Life*. Spring Hill: Albion.

Philip, N. (2003) 'Creativity and Tradition in the Fairy Tale', in Davidson, H.E. and Chaudhri, A. *Companion to the Fairytale*. Cambridge: D S Brewer, pp. 39-56.

Phythian-Adams, C. (1975) *Local History and Folklore: A New Framework*. London: Bedford Square Press.

Phythian-Adams, C. (1999) *Environments and Identities: Landscape as Cultural Projection in the English Provincial Past* in Slack, P (Ed) (1999) *Environments and*

Historical Change: The Linacre Lectures 1998. Oxford: Oxford University Press.  
Pp118-146.

Porter, E. (1958) 'Some Folk Beliefs of the Fens', *Folklore*, 69(2), pp. 112-122.

Porter, E. (1969) *Cambridgeshire Customs and Folklore*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Preston, D.R. (1982) 'Ritin' Fowklower Daun 'Rong: Folklorists' Failures in Phonology', *The Journal of American Folklore*, 95(377), pp. 304-326.

Purkiss, D. (2000) *Troublesome Things; a history of fairies and fairy stories*. London: Allen Lane/Penguin.

Radford, E. and Hole, C. (1978) *Superstitions of the Countryside*. London: Arrow Books.

Rainbow, B. (1989) *Music in educational thought and practice: a survey from 800BC*. Aberystwyth, Wales: Boethius Press.

Randall, A. (1966) *Sixty Years a Fenman*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Rawding, C.K. (2001) *The Lincolnshire Wolds in the Nineteenth Century*. Lincoln: Society of Lincolnshire History & Archaeology.

Reay, B. (1991) 'The context and meaning of popular literacy: Some evidence from nineteenth-century rural England', *Past and Present*, 131, pp. 89 -129.

Richardson, M. and Kenyon, A.T. (2005-2006) 'Sidestepping Copyright: British Fairy Tale Anthologies of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century', *Texas Wesleyan Law Review* 81, pp.83-88.

Richardson, M A (1846) *Local Historian's Table Book of remarkable occurrences, historical facts, traditions, legendary and descriptive ballads etc. connected with the counties of Newcastle Upon Tyne, Northumberland and Durham*. Legendary Division Vol III. London: J R Smith

Richardson, T.L. (1993) 'The Agricultural Labourers' Standard of Living in Lincolnshire, 1790-1840: Social Protest and Public Order', *The Agricultural History Review*, 41(1), pp. 1-19.

Rippon, S. (2009) "'Uncommonly rich and fertile" or "not very salubrious?" The Perception and Value of Wetland Landscapes', *Landscapes*, 10(1), pp. 39-60.

Roberts, D. (1963) 'How Cruel was the Victorian Poor Law?', *Historical Journal*, 6(1). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rorie, D. (1934) 'Chamber-pots Filled with Salt as Marriage Gifts', *Folklore*, 45(2), pp. 162-163.

Rosen (1985) *Stories and Meanings*. Sheffield: NATE Publications.

Ross, A. and Robins, D. (1989) *Life and Death of a Druid Prince*. London: Guild Publishing.

Rotherham, I. (2010) *Yorkshire's Forgotten Fenlands*. Barnsley, Yorks: Wharncliffe Books.

Roud, S. (2003) *The Penguin Guide to the Superstitions of Britain and Ireland*. London: Penguin.

Rudkin, E.H. (1933a) 'Lincolnshire Folklore, belief and practice', *Folklore*, 44(2), pp. 189-214.

Rudkin, E.H. (1933b) 'Lincolnshire Folklore, Calendar Customs', *Folklore*, 44(3), pp. 279-295.

Rudkin, E.H. (1934a) 'Lincolnshire Folklore, stories about stones', *Folklore*, 45(2), pp. 144-157.

Rudkin, E.H. (1934b) 'Lincolnshire Folklore, Witches and Devils', *Folklore*, 45(3), pp. 249-267.

Rudkin, E.H. (1934-6) 'A plea for the collection of folklore; shewing it is of scientific value', *Lincolnshire Magazine*, 2(5), p. 145.

Rudkin, E.H. (1936) *Lincolnshire Folklore*, Gainsborough: Beltons.

Rudkin, E.H. (1938) 'Will o' the Wisp', *Folklore*, 49(1), pp. 46-48.

Rudkin, E.H. (1954) 'Folklore of Lincolnshire: Especially the low-lying areas of Lindsey', *Folklore*, 66(4), pp. 385-400.

Rushden, J. (1989) 'Jack o' Lantern of the Fens', *Lincolnshire Life*, 30(8), p. 16.

Russell, R.C. (1956) The 'Revolt of the Field' in Lincolnshire: the origins and early history of farm-workers' trade unions. Lincolnshire County Committee, National Union of Agricultural Workers.

Russell, R.C. (1994) *Living and Learning in Lindsey, Lincs 1830-1890*. Hull: University of Hull.

Russell, R.C. (2002) *From cock-fighting to chapel building: Changes in popular culture in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Lincolnshire : documents and commentaries*. Lincoln: Heritage Trust of Lincolnshire.

Salmon, L. (1902) 'Folklore in the Kennet Valley', *Folklore*, 13(4), pp. 418-429.

Saunders, B. (eds.) (1891) *Fenland Notes & Queries for the Fenland Counties of Huntingdon, Cambridge, Lincoln, Northampton, Norfolk & Suffolk*. Peterborough: George C. Caster.

Scott, W. (1833) *Complete Works*. New York: Conner & Cook, Franklin Buildings.

Sharman, V.D. (1952) *Folk Tales of Devon*. London: Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd.

Sharp, C.J. and Marson, C.L. (1910) *Folk Songs from Somerset*. London: Simpkin & Co. Ltd.

Shuldiner, D. (1978) 'The Content and Structure of English Ballads and Tales', *Western Folklore*, 37(4), pp. 267-280.

Siikala, A. (1990) *Interpreting Oral Narrative* – Folklore Fellows Communications No.245. Helsinki: Finnish Academy of Science and Letters.

Silver, C.G. (2004) Review of English Fairy Tales and More English Fairy Tales by Joseph Jacobs in *Marvels & Tales, Journal of Fairy-Tale Studies* 18(1) pp105-107.

Simon, Z (2003) 'Origins and Remnants of the Dialects in England' in *Journal of Language and Linguistics* (2) 2.

Simpson, J (1978). 'Fifty British Dragon Tales: An Analysis' in *Folklore* Vol. 89, No. 1 (1978), pp 79-93.

Simpson, J. (2011) 'On the Ambiguity of Elves [1]', *Folklore*, 122(1), pp. 76-83.

Sims-Kimbrey, J.M. (1996) *Wodds and Doggerybaw – A Lincolnshire Dialect Dictionary*. Lincs: Richard Kay.

Smith, E. (1864) 6th Report of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council, Parliamentary Papers 1864, XXVII, p249

Spence, L. (1946) *British Fairy Origins*. London: Watts & Co.

Stennett, A. (2006) *Nobbut a yell belly!* Newbury, Berkshire: Countryside Books.

Stewart, R.J. (1977) *Where is Saint George?- Pagan imagery in English Folksong*. Wiltshire: Moonraker Press.

Stonehouse, W.B. (1839) *The history and topography of the Isle of Axholme: being that part of Lincolnshire which is west of Trent*. Gainsborough, Lincolnshire: Adam Stark.

Storey, J. (2003) *Inventing Popular Culture: from folklore to globalisation*. London: Wiley-Blackwell.

Streatfeild, G.S. (1884) *Lincolnshire and the Danes*. London: K Paul, Trench & Co.

Stuart-Glennie, J.S. (1892) "'Queries as to Dr. Tylor's Views on Animism'", *Folklore*, 3(3), pp. 289-307.

Sturt, M. (1967) *Education of the people: a history of primary education in England and Wales in the nineteenth century*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Sutton, E. (1881) *North Lincolnshire Words* - Original Glossary 26. Manchester: English Dialect Society.

Sutton, M. (1997) *A Lincolnshire Calendar*. Lincoln: Paul Watkins.

Sutton, M. (1992) 'We didn't know aught' - *A Study of Sexuality, Superstition and Death in Women's Lives in Lincolnshire during the 1930s, '40s and '50s*. Stamford: Paul Watkins.

Sutton, M. (1999) 'Yellowbelly Folklore', *Lincolnshire Life*, 39(2), May 1999.

Sutton, M. (2001) 'A Century of Memories', *Lincolnshire Life*, 41(5).

Swaby, W. P (1891) 'Superstitious Beliefs and Customs of Lincolnshire', in Andrews, W. (ed.) *Bygone Lincolnshire*. Hull: A Brown, pp.80-95.

- Swainson, C. (1885) *Provincial names and folklore of British Birds*. London: English Dialect Society by Trubner & Co.
- Sweeting, Rev. W.D. (eds.) (1901) *Fenland Notes & Queries Vol IV*.
- Taylor, A. (1951) *English Riddles from Oral Tradition*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Tebbutt, M. (1997) *Women's Talk? ; a social history of 'gossip' in working class neighbours, 1880-1960*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Tedlock, D. (1972) 'On the Translation of Style in Oral Narrative', in Paredes, A. and Bauman, R. *Toward New Perspectives in Folklore*. Texas: University of Texas Press, pp.114-123.
- Tedlock, D. (1983) *The spoken word and the work of interpretation*. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press.
- Thirsk, J. (1957) *English Peasant Farming – The Agrarian History of Lincolnshire from Tudor to Recent Times*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Thiselton-Dyer, T.F. (1878) *English Folk-Lore*. Facsimile copy from Milton Keynes: Lightning Source UK.
- Thiselton-Dyer, T.F. (1889) *The Folk-Lore of Plants*. London: Chatto and Windus.
- Thomas, E. (1909) *The South Country*. London: J M Dent & Co.
- Thomas, K. (1991) *Religion and the Decline of Magic*. London: Penguin.
- Thompson, C.J.S. (1995 imprint of 1932) *The Hand of Destiny: Everyday Folklore and Superstitions*. London: Senate.
- Thompson, S. (1946, reprinted 1977) *The Folktale*. London: University of California Press.
- Thompson, S. (1955) *Narrative motif-analysis as a folklore method*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Teideakatemia.



Thompson, S. (1955-8 ) *Motif-index of folk-literature : a classification of narrative elements in folktales, ballads, myths, fables, mediaeval romances, exempla, fabliaux, jest-books, and local legends*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Thompson, T.W. (1916) 'English Gypsy Folk-Tales and other traditional stories', *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, 8 (3).

Thoms, W.J. (1878) 'Chaucer's Night-Spell', *The Folk-Lore Record*, 1, pp. 145-154.

Thorold, H. (1996) *St Andrew's Church, Redbourne, Lincolnshire*. London: The Churches Conservation Trust.

Toelken, B. (1979) *The dynamics of folklore*. Boston: Houghton. Mifflin Company.

Toolan, M. (1988) *Narrative: A critical linguistic introduction*. London: Routledge.

Townsend, J.A.B. (1990) "The Viking Society: A Centenary History" in *Saga-Book* vol. 23 pp180-212.

Trevelyan, M. (1973 reprint of 1909) *Folklore and Folk Stories of Wales*. EP Publishing.

Turner, J.H. (1888) *Yorkshire Notes and Queries* vol. 1. Bingley: T Harrison.

Turner, J. (1983 reprint of 1833) *A Manual of Instruction in Vocal Music*. Kilkenny, Ireland: Boethius Press.

Turner, R.C. and Briggs, C.S. (1986) 'The Bog Burials of Britain and Ireland', in Stead, I.M., Bourke, J.B. & Brothwell, D., (eds.) *Lindow Man: the body in the bog*. New York: Cornell University Press, pp. 144-161.

Tylor, E.B. (1871a) *Primitive Culture*. Vol. I. London: John Murray

Tylor, E.B. (1871b) *Primitive Culture*. Vol. II. London: John Murray

Vansina, J (1965) *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing.

Verdon, N. (2001) 'The employment of women and children in agriculture: a reassessment of agricultural gangs in nineteenth-century Norfolk', *The Agricultural History Review*, 49(1), pp. 41-55.

- Vickery, A.R. (1978) 'West Dorset Folklore', *Folklore*, 89(2), pp. 154-159.
- Vukanović, T.P. (1989) 'Witchcraft in the Central Balkans II: Protection against Witches', *Folklore*, 100(2), pp. 221-236.
- Wade, S. (2005) *Foul Deeds and Suspicious Deaths in and around Scunthorpe*. Barnsley: Wharnccliffe Books.
- Walsham, A. (2008) 'Recording Superstition in Early Modern Britain: The Origins of Folklore', *Past and Present Supplement 3. Past & Present Society*, p. 178
- Walter, J. C. (1891) 'The Legend of Byard's Leap', in Andrews, W. (ed.) *Bygone Lincolnshire*. Hull: A Brown, pp. 96-116.
- Ward, D. (1991) 'New Misconceptions about Old Folktales: The Brothers Grimm', in McGlathery, J.M. *The Brothers Grimm and Folktale*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, pp. 91-100.
- Warner, M (2007) *Monsters of our own making: the peculiar pleasure of fear*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.
- Warren, K. (1985) 'Opium Eating in the Fens', in Arthur, J. (ed.) *Medicine in Wisbech and the Fens 1700-1920*. Wisbech: Seagull Enterprises, pp. 61-67.
- Wawn, A. (1990) 'The Spirit of 1892: Sagas, Saga-steeds and Victorian Philology' in *Saga-Book* vol. 23 pp.213-252.
- Wawn, A. (2000) *The Vikings and the Victorians: Inventing the Old North in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Ipswich: Boydell and Brewer.
- Weaver, J.B. and Tamborini, R.C. (1966) *Horror films: current research on audience preferences and reactions*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Webb, R.K. (1955) *The British working class reader 1790-1848: literary and social tension*. London: Allen & Unwin.
- Wentworth Day, J. (1954) *A History of the Fens*. London: George Harrap & Co.
- Wentworth Day, J. (1954) *Ghosts and Witches*. London: Batsford.
- Weston, H. (1969) 'A folklore calendar – May', *Lincolnshire Life*, 9(3).

- Weston, H. (1969) 'A folklore calendar – November', *Lincolnshire Life*, 9(10).
- Westwood, J. (1992) *Albion: A Guide to Legendary Britain*. London: Grafton.
- Westwood, J. and Simpson, J. (2005) *The Lore of the Land: A Guide to England's Legends*. London: Penguin Books.
- Wheeler W.H. (1868) *A History of the Fens of South Lincolnshire*. Boston: J.M Newcomb.
- Whitley, G. (1864) report to the Privy Council on the prevalence of ague and other malarious diseases in the principle marsh districts of England. Parliamentary Papers 1864 XXVII p430.
- Widdowson, J.D.A. (1971) 'The Bogeyman: Some Preliminary Observations on Frightening Figures', *Folklore*, 82(2), pp. 99-115.
- Widdowson, J.D.A. (1978) 'Some Folktales and Legends in Northern England', in Norton, E.S. (ed.) *Folk Literature of the British Isles*. London: Scarecrow Press, pp. 34-55.
- Widdowson, J.D.A. (1984) 'Lincolnshire Traditional Sayings and proverbial expressions', in Field, N. and White, A. (eds.) *A prospect of Lincolnshire - being collected articles on the history and traditions of Lincolnshire in honour of Ethel H Rudkin*. Gainsborough: G W Belton, pp. 114-118.
- Wilder, L.I. (1937) *On the Banks of Plum Creek*. London: Penguin.
- Williams, G. (1991) *George Ewart Evans*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Williams, N. (1991) 'The Semantics of the Word *Fairy*: Making Meaning Out of Thin Air', in Narvaez, P. *The Good People – New Fairylore Essays*. New York: Garland Publishing, pp.457-478.
- Wilson, J. (1903) *Verses and Notes. Topographical, historical, antiquarian, miscellaneous*. Chorley: A Hill.
- Wilson, M. (1997) *Performance and Practice: Oral Narrative Traditions Among Teenagers in Britain and Ireland*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Winn, H. (1950) 'Some reasons for the Depopulation of Lincolnshire Villages in the

19<sup>th</sup> century', *Lincolnshire Historian*, 6, pp. 232-235.

Wohl, A.S. (1983) *Endangered Lives: Public Health and Victorian Britain*. London: Methuen.

Wood, J. (1989) 'Classifying Folk Narrative Using the Type/Motif Method', *Folklife; Journal of Ethnological Studies*, 27, pp.95-103.

Wood, J (1999) Folklore Studies at the Celtic Dawn: The Role of Alfred Nutt as Publisher and Scholar. *Folklore*, 110, pp.3-12.

Wray, M. (2003) *13 Traditional Ghost Stories from Lincolnshire*. Caedmon Storytellers: East Coast Press.

Wright, E.M. (1913) *Rustic Speech and Folklore*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wright, J. (1898-1905) *The English dialect dictionary, being the complete vocabulary of all dialect words still in use, or known to have been in use during the last two hundred years; founded on the publications of the English Dialect Society and on a large amount of material never before printed*. London: Oxford University Press.

Wyatt, T. (1903) *Wyatts Companion to the Education Acts 1870-1902*. Manchester: Thomas Wyatt.

Wynne, M. (1976) *Lincolnshire Folklore: Ghosts and Legends Galore!* Louth: Allinson & Wilcox.

Zimmerman, G.D. (2001) *The Irish Storyteller*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Zipes, J. (ed.) (2004) *Beautiful Angiola: The Great Treasure of Sicilian Folk and Fairy Tales collected by Laura Gonzenbach*. London: Routledge.

Zipes, J. (2006) *Why Fairy Tales Stick: The Evolution and Relevance of a Genre*. London: Routledge.

## **6.2 Archives Consulted**

Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

Barrett collection, Cambridge and County Folk Museum.

Bath & North-East Somerset Record Office.

Cambridge University Library, particularly The Eastern Counties Folklore Society  
1936-1939

Dunedin Archives, New Zealand.

Folklore Society Archives at University College, London and at the National Archives  
in Kew.

Katherine Briggs Collection at Leeds University.

Leeds University Special Collections – Leeds Archive of Vernacular Culture (LAVC).

Lincolnshire Archives, particularly the Redbourne Papers and the Redbourne School  
Log Book.

National Archives NACTEL, Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language at  
the University of Sheffield (including Blakeborough Collection).

Notes in Records of the Eastern Counties Folklore Society 1936-39, Cambridge  
University Library Department of Manuscripts and University Archives.

Official Publications in Cambridge University Library.

Otago Settlers Museum, Dunedin, New Zealand.

Peacock, E. '*Toothache Book*' in the Peacock Archives written for his children and  
containing items that will entertain and take away the pain of a toothache! in North  
Lincolnshire Museum, Scunthorpe.

Peacock, E. '*Diary from 1884 to end of life*' in the Peacock archives, North  
Lincolnshire Museum, Scunthorpe. Box D: EP Diaries 11.

Rex Russell papers at North-East Lincolnshire Archives, Grimsby.

Wellington Archives, New Zealand.

### **6.3 Audio Resources**

Pearson, M (2006-2007) *Carrlands* [Online] Available at

<http://www.carlands.org.uk/> (Accessed June 2009).

Storr, J. (1971) '*Interviews with children in Barnsley, S Yorks*' – audio recording in Sheffield University archives 72\_001, A0477r.

Widdowson, J. (1969) Interview with Martha Cross of Kirton Lindsey, Lincs. 29 May 1969 - Sheffield University audio archives Reference 69\_001 A0035r

Widdowson, J.D.A. (1973) Interview with Ethel Rudkin – audio recording in Sheffield University archives 73\_009, A0578r.

#### **6.4 Periodicals Searched**

*The Academy: A Weekly Review of Literature, Science and Art*, (June 1891)

*Crockfords Clerical Directory*.

*Fenland Citizen* 'Pupils prepare for Dead Moon', 6<sup>th</sup> June 2007.

*Folklore, The Folk-Lore Journal* and *Folk-Lore* (Journal's of the Folklore Society).

*Gentleman's Magazine*.

*Kelly's Post Office Directory of Lincolnshire* 1899 & 1900.

*Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury* (known as *The Stamford Mercury*).

*The Morning Post*.

*Notes and Queries - Lincolnshire & Fenland editions*.

*Otago Daily Times*.

*The Pall Mall Gazette*.

*White's history, gazetteer and directory of Lincolnshire* 1892.

#### **6.5 Interviews Conducted**

Conversations with various informants at Heckington Fair, Lincolnshire, each July 2008-2012.

Brooks, B. (2006) Conversation outside The Red Lion, Redbourne, 26 November 2006.

Cornell, K. (2008) Interview at her home in March, Cambridgeshire, November.

Gowar, M. (2007) Telephone conversation 7 December.

Haigh B.(2012) Telephone conversation in March 2012.

Hall, S. (2011) Conversation at Kings Lynn Museum 9 November 2011.

Haxey and Westwoodside History Society informants, 8 November 2012.

Howat, P. (2012) Interview at her home in Chatteris, Cambridgeshire, 26 April.

Jones, B. (2007) Conversation after Opium in the Fens talk at March Library, Cambridgeshire in September.

Langley, L (2011) Email correspondence 3 October 2011 and 9 May 2012.

Lenihan, E. (2011) Conversation at Festival at the Edge, Shropshire, 15 July.

Lupton, H. (2012) Telephone interview, 23 April.

O'Leary, M (2012) Telephone conversation 11 November concerning Cybermouth online forum post

Philip, N. (2007) Conversation at the Storytelling Ape conference Windsor, Wednesday 21 to Friday 23 November 2007.

Rouse, M. (2012) Telephone conversation, April 2012.

Sutton, M. (2007) Telephone interview, 15 August.

Sutton, M. (2009) Interview at her home in Waddington, Lincolnshire, 15 September.

Taylor, A. (2012) Telephone conversation 16 February followed by face to face interview at The Red Lion, Redbourne, in March on 12 May.

Widdowson, J.D.A. (2009) Short conversation at The Warburg Institute, London, 10 November.

Wray, M. (2012) Telephone conversation in March..

## **6.6 *Digital Resources***

Ancestry [Online] Available at [www.ancestry.co.uk](http://www.ancestry.co.uk) (Last Accessed June 2012).

AntConc- Analysis of word (token) frequency

[http://www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/antconc\\_index.html](http://www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/antconc_index.html) (Last Accessed May 2012).

*Balfour Lairds of Pilrig* – pdf downloadable from [www.pilrig.house.com/history.htm](http://www.pilrig.house.com/history.htm). (Accessed December 16 2011).

Balfour, M.C. (1896-1900) Various written pieces in *Macmillan Magazine*, [Online] Electronic Resource. Accessed at Cambridge University Library (Accessed March 2012).

Balfour, M.C. (1896-1931) Various written pieces in *New Blackfriars* [Online] Available at <http://www.blackwellpublishing.com/journal.asp?ref=0028-4289> (Last accessed January 2010).

Behrend, Michael website [Online] Available at <http://www.cantab.net/users/michael.behrend/repubs/index.html> (Accessed August 2012).

Berridge V – Opium and the People, Chapter 10- The 1868 Pharmacy Act. [Online] Available at <http://www.druglibrary.eu/library/books/opiumpeople/opiumpeople.pdf> (Accessed June 2012).

Bog bodies information [online] at <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/bog/iron-05.html> (Accessed August 2012).

Boston High School [Online] Available at [http://www.bostonhighschool.co.uk/site/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=230&Itemid=112](http://www.bostonhighschool.co.uk/site/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=230&Itemid=112) (Accessed April 2012).

Bubbling Vagabonds review[Online] at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=41z2QziIaGk> (Accessed May 2012).

*Carrlands Project* [Online] at [www.carrlands.org.uk](http://www.carrlands.org.uk) (Accessed May 2012). Additional information available at <http://www.landscape.ac.uk/landscape/research/smallergrants/carrlands.aspx> (Accessed May 2012).



Cassidy, J. F. (No date) *Our Lady in Old Irish Folklore and Hymns*. CatholicCulture.org. [Online] Available at <http://www.catholicculture.org/culture/library/view.cfm?id=3137%20&CFID=15049797&CFTOKEN=23717555> (Accessed June 2010).

*Congreve Man* [Online] Available at [www.wiltshire.gov.uk/community/getfolk.php?id=279](http://www.wiltshire.gov.uk/community/getfolk.php?id=279) (Accessed June 2010).

Definition of Fetch [Online] Available at [www.real-british-ghosts.com/types-of-ghost.html#fetch](http://www.real-british-ghosts.com/types-of-ghost.html#fetch) accessed 21 April 2011

*De Quincey (1862) Beauties, Selected from the Writings of Thomas De Quincey*. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. [Online] Available at [http://archive.org/stream/beautiessselected01dequ/beautiessselected01dequ\\_djvu.txt](http://archive.org/stream/beautiessselected01dequ/beautiessselected01dequ_djvu.txt) (Accessed October 2012)

*Dictionary of the Scots Language* [Online] Available at <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/> (Accessed May 2012).

Eade, Rosie [Online] Available at <http://www.rosieeade.co.uk/NFpage.htm> (Accessed May 2012).

*Elementary Education Act 1870* [Online] Available at <http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/pdfs/1870-elementary-education-act.pdf> (Accessed November 2010).

Environment Agency news [Online] Available at <http://www.environment-agency.gov.uk/news/127822.aspx?page=11&month=3&year=2011> (Accessed January 2012).

Fens Discovery Centre short film [Online] Available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NKdmk85kvWM> last accessed May 2012.

Fens Museums [Online] Available at <http://www.fensmuseums.org.uk/index.aspx> (Accessed June 2011).

Field theatre group [Online] Available at <http://fieldtheatregroup.btck.co.uk/NewsEvents> (Accessed March 2012).

Find My Past [Online] Available at <http://www.findmypast.co.uk/> (Last Accessed

June 2012).

*Folklore* [Online] Available at <http://www.jstor.org/> (Last Accessed June 2012).

*Free Map Tools* [Online] Available at [www.freemaptools.com](http://www.freemaptools.com) (Accessed January 2012).

*Gazette and Herald* [Online] Available at [http://www.gazetteherald.co.uk/archive/2002/02/07/Ryedale+Archive/6666844.The\\_secret\\_life\\_of\\_the\\_hob/](http://www.gazetteherald.co.uk/archive/2002/02/07/Ryedale+Archive/6666844.The_secret_life_of_the_hob/) (Accessed 29 April 2012).

Google Scholar searches [http://scholar.google.co.uk/scholar?q=%22mortal+queer%22&btnG=&hl=en&as\\_sdt=0%2C5](http://scholar.google.co.uk/scholar?q=%22mortal+queer%22&btnG=&hl=en&as_sdt=0%2C5) (last accessed June 2012).

Gowar, M website [Online] Available at [www.mickgowar.com](http://www.mickgowar.com) (Accessed June 2011).  
The films can be found at [http://www.mickgowar.com/Young\\_Storytellers\\_Archive/Stories\\_from\\_England/Entries/2011/8/14\\_Yallery\\_Brown.html](http://www.mickgowar.com/Young_Storytellers_Archive/Stories_from_England/Entries/2011/8/14_Yallery_Brown.html) Accessed January 2012.

Green Algae information [Online] Available at <http://www.algone.com/greenwater.php> (Accessed June 2010)

Greig, R. (2004) 'Joseph Taylor from Lincolnshire: a biography of a singer' in *Folk Song Tradition, Revival, and Re-Creation*. Occasional Publications (3). The Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen , Aberdeen, pp. 386-392 [Online] Available at <http://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/42959/> (Accessed 9 December 2011).

Haggarty, B (2005) updated version of *Seek out the Voice of the Critic*. [Online] Available at. P4. <http://www.benhaggarty.com/ben/critic.pdf> (Accessed October 2011).

Harte, J. (1998) *Alternative approaches to Folklore: A bibliography 1969-1996*. Loughborough: Heart of Albion Press.[Online] Available at [www.hoap.co.uk/aatf1.rtf](http://www.hoap.co.uk/aatf1.rtf) (Accessed July 2011).

*History of Bestwood* [Online] Available at <http://www3.nottinghamshire.gov.uk/enjoying/countryside/countryparks/bestwood/history/> (Accessed February 2012).

*History of Gin* [Online] Available at <http://www.ginvodka.org/history/ginHistory.asp> (Accessed August 2012).

Holden, John review [Online] Available at <http://en.scientificcommons.org/48117148> (Accessed April 2012).

Hughes, E. Fens Museums text [Online] Available at [http://www.fensmuseums.org.uk/documents/Fenland\\_Stories\\_panels\\_3\\_copy.pdf](http://www.fensmuseums.org.uk/documents/Fenland_Stories_panels_3_copy.pdf). (Accessed November 2011).

Immigrants to New Zealand [Online] Available at <http://www.myrasplace.net/myra/ball.htm>. (Accessed March 2012).

Institution of Civil Engineers (Great Britain) *Minutes of proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers*, PDF [Online] Available at Google Books (Accessed June 2011).

Jacobs, J (1890) English Fairy Tales [Online] Available at <http://archive.org/details/englishfairytal00jacogoog> (Accessed April 2012).

James, M (2007) The Man Who Asked 'The Fellows Who Cut The Hay' [Online] Available at [http://storytelling.research.glam.ac.uk/media/files/documents/2007-11-16/Maureen\\_James\\_article.pdf](http://storytelling.research.glam.ac.uk/media/files/documents/2007-11-16/Maureen_James_article.pdf) (Accessed November 2012).

Katherine Briggs Awards [Online] Available at <http://www.folklore-society.com/awards/> (Accessed June 2012).

*Kings Lynn Magazine* [Online] Available at <http://www.klmagazine.co.uk/2011/08/tall-stories-and-talking-trees/> (Accessed April 2012).

Lincolnshire Archives [Online] Available at <http://www.lincstothepast.com/> (Accessed: February 2012)

Lewis, S (1848) 'Raydon - Redditch', *A Topographical Dictionary of England*, pp. 645-652. British History [Online] Available at <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=51233> (Accessed: 20 September 2012)

Mablethorpe tourism [Online] Available at [http://www.mablethorpetourismforum.org.uk/files/fobb08\\_brochure.pdf](http://www.mablethorpetourismforum.org.uk/files/fobb08_brochure.pdf) (Accessed January 2012).

McArthur, T (1998) 'English Dialect Society' in the *Concise Oxford Companion to the English Language*. [Online] Available at Encyclopedia.com:

<http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1O29-ENGLISHDIALECTSOCIETY.html>  
(Accessed May 19, 2012).

Mental Health History Words [Online] Available at  
<http://studymore.org.uk/mhhglo.htm#imbecile> (Accessed 23 August 2012).

Messerer, S (2012) 'Five Hundred new fairytales discovered in Germany'. *The Guardian*, Monday 5 March 2012. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/2012/mar/05/five-hundred-fairytales-discovered-germany> (Accessed April 2012).

Montgomery, J. (1827) *The Pelican Island: And Other Poems*. Archive.org [Online] Available at <http://archive.org/details/pelicanislandoth00mont> (Accessed April 2011).

Morris, M.C.F. (1892) *Yorkshire Folk* [Online] available at  
Talk.<http://www.genuki.org.uk/big/eng/YKS/Misc/Books/FolkTalk/index.html>  
(Accessed May 2010).

Naming the pumps [Online] Available at <http://www.rotary-ribi.org/clubs/page.php?PgID=241455&ClubID=489> (Accessed April 2012).

National Archives [Online] Available at [www.nationalarchives.gov.uk](http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk) (Last Accessed June 2012).

National Galleries, Scotland [Online] Available at  
<http://www.nationalgalleries.org/collection/artists-a-z/S/18154/artistName/George%20Simson/> (Accessed 15 August 2012).

New Zealand Inquests [Online] Available at  
<http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~sooty/miscdrowninginquests.html>  
(Accessed January 2012).

Norfolk Green Buses [Online] Available at <http://www.norfolkgreen.co.uk/bus-names/index.aspx> (Accessed April 2012).

North Lincolnshire Council [Online] Available at  
[www.northlincs.gov.uk/EasySiteWeb/GatewayLink.aspx?allId=24855](http://www.northlincs.gov.uk/EasySiteWeb/GatewayLink.aspx?allId=24855) (Accessed February 2012).

NOVA website [Online] Available at <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/bog/iron-05.html>  
(Accessed August 2012).

*Otago Witness* and other documents [Online] Available at <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=p&p=home&e=-----10--1----0--> (Accessed January 2012).

Parry, B website [Online] Available at <http://www.bernieparry.com/2008-earth-apples.htm> (Accessed August 2012).

Robert Louis Stevenson family [Online] Available at <http://www.robert-louis-stevenson.org/family> (Accessed March 2012).

Senior, N – *Memories of a Country Childhood* Blog site [Online] Available at <http://homepages.which.net/~rex/bourne/nicola.htm> (Accessed January 2012).

*Society for Storytelling website* [Online] Available at <http://www.sfs.org.uk/content/oral-storytelling> (Accessed November 2012)

*The Farmers Magazine* Volume 8, 1838 p284, [Online] Available at Google books (Accessed 18 February 2012).

*The Free Dictionary* [Online] Available at <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/storyteller> (Accessed 15 November 2012)

*The Independent* [Online] Available at <http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/books/reviews/collected-folk-tales-by-alan-garner-6266158.html> (Accessed 15 January 2012).

*The Pub in Literature* [Online] Complimentary web pages to Steven Earnshaw's (2000) book *The Pub in Literature: England's Altered State*. Manchester University Press, at <http://teaching.shu.ac.uk/ds/sle/alterd/chronology/dates.htm> (Accessed 22 August 2012).

*The Scotsman* advert on Edinphoto website page - George Simson [Online] Available at [http://www.edinphoto.org.uk/1\\_edin/1\\_edinburgh\\_in\\_1854\\_education.htm](http://www.edinphoto.org.uk/1_edin/1_edinburgh_in_1854_education.htm) (Accessed October 2012).

*The Stage Yearbooks* [Online] Available at [www.archive.org](http://www.archive.org) (Accessed 5 March 2012).

*Timaru Herald* [Online] Available at <http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~nzlscant/wrecks.htm> (Accessed March 2010).

University of Hull *Conventional abbreviations for forenames web resource* [Online] Available at [http://slb-ltsu.hull.ac.uk/awe/index.php?title=Conventional\\_abbreviations\\_for\\_forenames](http://slb-ltsu.hull.ac.uk/awe/index.php?title=Conventional_abbreviations_for_forenames). (Accessed December 2011 and January 2012).

Wiki question on Siege of Lyon [Online] Available at [http://uk.ask.com/wiki/Siege\\_of\\_Lyon](http://uk.ask.com/wiki/Siege_of_Lyon) (Accessed 16 August 2012).

Wildlife Trust press release [Online] Available at <http://www.lincstrust.org.uk/news/press-release.php?article=353> (Accessed June 2010).

Wilson, M (2006) *Some thoughts on Performer Identity in Contemporary Professional Storytelling*. The George Ewart Evans Centre for Storytelling Lecture Series #1. [Online] Available at [http://storytelling.research.glam.ac.uk/media/files/documents/2007-08-24/mike\\_wilson\\_Lecture\\_April\\_06.pdf](http://storytelling.research.glam.ac.uk/media/files/documents/2007-08-24/mike_wilson_Lecture_April_06.pdf) (Accessed November 2012).

Wright, E.M. (1913) *Rustic Speech and Folklore*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [Online] Available at [http://archive.org/stream/rusticspeechfolk00wriguoft/rusticspeechfolk00wriguoft\\_djvu.txt](http://archive.org/stream/rusticspeechfolk00wriguoft/rusticspeechfolk00wriguoft_djvu.txt) (Accessed November 2012).

Young, T.E. (2008) *Popular attitudes towards rural customs and rights in late nineteenth and early twentieth century England*. Unpublished thesis. [Online] Available at <https://uhra.herts.ac.uk/.../Tracey%20Young%20PHD%20Thesis.pdf> (Accessed 2 May 2012).

You-tube [Online] Available at [www.youtube.com](http://www.youtube.com) (Accessed May 2012).